

**“Why Shouldn’t a Comrade be Chic?”: Constructions of the Soviet
Woman’s Image in International Soviet Propaganda and its Reception in
the United Kingdom and Ireland, 1945-1970**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the construction and reconstruction of the Soviet woman's image in official Soviet propaganda magazines, *Soviet Woman* and *Soviet Union*, in the Stalin and Khrushchev eras, and how successful this propaganda was in shaping the image of the Soviet woman in newspapers from the United Kingdom and Ireland. While the Soviet woman's image has been briefly explored in the American imagination, UK and Irish newspapers have been neglected and the official Soviet propaganda narrative has yet to be considered alongside its intended audience. In the Stalin era, the Soviet woman was an androgynous figure as the regime prioritised women's participation in industries, which created depictions of masculinised bodies, dress and an absence of beauty products in the working figures. By the Khrushchev era, these figures had been deemed undesirable by the Soviet regime and UK and Irish newspapers. Consequently, Khrushchev's foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence" caused a reconstruction of the ideal Soviet woman as the image became a form of soft power used to display the superiority of Soviet socialism and appeal to the West through familiar means. Soviet women were then depicted in official propaganda with feminine fashion, utilising beauty products and luxury goods. This new, chic, feminine and fashionable figure was epitomized by Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman in space. Tereshkova's image helped dissipate the cliché image of androgynous Soviet women fastened to articles on Soviet women in the UK and Irish press since the early Stalin era. Tereshkova generated discussions in newspapers on gender equality in UK and Irish societies. This was due to her ability to combine an intentionally conventional feminine appearance while participating in a traditionally male sphere. This thesis considers the impact that the constructed image of the ideal Soviet woman had on UK and Irish newspapers by considering official propaganda narratives in the magazines *Soviet Woman* and *Soviet Union*. Even though the newspapers examined certainly recognised Soviet propaganda around Tereshkova and Soviet women for what it was, the projected propaganda achieved its desired effect because the message and image of Tereshkova made the media consider whether the Soviet Union had greater gender equality than Western societies.

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Introduction

Russian women I met here, while proud of their equal work and equal pay, also have an increasing desire to become more feminine. "What's wrong with overalls by day and pretty frocks at night?" say many.¹

Women's magazines have long told their readers how to look, behave and feel. Magazines and the media throughout many nations create constructional, feminine images that 'tell women what to think and do about themselves'.² The Soviet woman's image was no exception. From Joseph Stalin to Nikita Khrushchev, the state attempted to exert control over Soviet women's identities and appearance. The state carefully constructed an ideal image of Soviet women to display to international audiences, which is seen in two propaganda magazines, the *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman*. Western audiences frequently saw a constructed image of Western women in their own magazines and media,³ meaning this Soviet medium of constructional images of women was nothing new. The United Kingdom (UK) and Irish newspapers' reception of Soviet women's images varies between the Stalin and Khrushchev eras. In the Stalin era, Soviet women were working figures who did not have the time, nor the money, to be feminine; however, this progressed in the late Stalin era into an attempt to re-create Soviet women as a feminine figures. The Soviet woman's image was re-imagined by reviving traditional standards of beauty. The 1949 slogan, "Why Shouldn't a Comrade be Chic?" embodies this movement.⁴ This revival of traditional feminine beauty did not influence international perceptions of Soviet women until Khrushchev's political changes opened the Soviet Union to the West. Under Khrushchev, the "new Soviet woman" was presented in propaganda as a feminine figure who enjoyed make-up, fashionable clothing, and the latest in luxury consumer goods. Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman in space, embodied this new Soviet woman figure. Tereshkova's international recognition and celebrity status shifted the UK and Irish newspapers' cliché of the Stalinist, androgynous Soviet woman to the new feminine Soviet woman. A discussion on gender equality emerged in the UK and Irish press as Tereshkova's image was explored.

I have structured this thesis in two halves. In the first part, I analyse the construction and reconstruction of the Soviet woman's image in the Soviet propaganda magazines *Soviet*

¹ J. Mossman, 'Yes, We've Got the Old Sex War in Russia Too', *Daily Mail*, 10 October 1960, 8. All newspaper and magazine articles will be referenced in full even in subsequent footnotes to avoid confusion. This is due to multiple articles being published on the same day with the same, or no, author and similar titles are frequently used.

² M. Ferguson, *Forever Feminine: Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity*, London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1983, p. 2.

³ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 2.

⁴ G. Young, 'Chic in the Soviet', *Daily Mail*, 22 October 1949, p. 4.

Union and Soviet Woman in the Stalin and Khrushchev eras. This enables a detailed analysis of how propaganda shaped images of Soviet women that were intended to influence international audiences' perceptions. In these two periods, the Soviet woman's image changed in propaganda from an economic worker, whose value was in production and reproduction, to a feminine woman who was interested in fashion, beauty, and luxury goods. In the second part of this thesis I gauge how this constructed image was reflected in the UK and Irish press. UK and Irish newspapers are used to evaluate the success of the Soviet regime's attempts to change the Soviet woman's international image between these two periods. These two halves of my thesis are interconnecting as to properly understand the way that Soviet women were displayed in the UK and Irish press, the projected image of them in Soviet propaganda must be considered. Similarly, the reception of Soviet propaganda should be analysed to measure its influence and whether it fulfilled its intended purpose.

Since the end of the Soviet Union in 1991 an increased number of scholars, especially women, have been entering into academic research in Russian and Soviet studies.⁵ Soviet gender and women's history is a relatively new field, emerging in the late twentieth century.⁶ Women's and gender issues were becoming more entrenched in academic disciplines at this time, which is why historian Melanie Ilić believes they became more prominent in Russian and Soviet studies.⁷ Ilić also maintains that the opening of Russian state archives since 1991 and new relations between Western and Russian historians has enabled a rise in academic literature on all aspects of Soviet society.⁸

Ilić, Susan Reid and Lynne Attwood highlighted in the early twenty-first century that not much was written in Western literature on gender relations and Soviet women in the Khrushchev era.⁹ Katrina Lynn agrees that Soviet women in the Khrushchev era is a topic that needs more attention as she argues that women in the Khrushchev era are usually only explored by sociologists and political scientists.¹⁰ Reid maintains that women in the Khrushchev era had 'extensive contemporary analysis' and have not since received the significant reassessment the topic needs.¹¹ The concepts of gender relations and identity need further exploration in connection to 'state authority and the exercise of state power' according to Sarah Ashwin.¹² Significant areas of Soviet women and gender history deserve further exploration. Cross-analysing periods of Soviet history has emerged as a prominent trend in more recent Soviet academic work.¹³ Continual themes and changes between the Stalin and Khrushchev eras need further analysis, particularly with attention paid to previously neglected areas of study.

⁵ M. Ilić (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 1; See also: K. Lynn, 'Women, or Scientists, or Both?: Soviet Gender Roles and Women Scientists in Akademgorodok, Russia', M.A., University of Wyoming, 2012, p. 2.

⁶ H. Goscilo, and B. Holmgren (ed.), *Russia- Women- Culture*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1996, ix.

⁷ Ilić, *Palgrave Handbook*, p. 1.

⁸ Ilić, p. 2.

⁹ M. Ilić, S. Reid and L. Attwood (ed.), *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 1.

¹⁰ Lynn, 'Women, or scientists, or both?', p. 2.

¹¹ S. E. Reid, 'Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union Under Khrushchev', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2002, pp. 212-213.

¹² S. Ashwin, *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, Michigan, Florence Taylor and Francis Ann Arbor, 2012, p. 3.

¹³ For instance, see: N. Kozlova, 'International Women's Day and the Construction of the Soviet Gender System', in N. Novikova, and M. Muravyeva (ed.), *Women's History in Russia: (Re)Establishing the Field*, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publ., 2014, pp. 137-155; A. Klots, 'The Kitchen Maid as Revolutionary Symbol: Paid Domestic Labour and the Emancipation of Soviet Women, 1917-1941', in M. Ilić (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia and the Soviet Union*, London, Palgrave, 2018, pp. 83-100; Z. Yusufjonova-Abman, 'State Feminism in Soviet Central Asia: Anti-Religious Campaigns and Muslim Women in Tajikistan, 1953-1982', in M. Ilić (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia and the Soviet Union*, London, Palgrave, 2018, pp. 299-314; M. Runcis and L. Zalkalns, 'Women's Role in the Alternative Culture Movements in Soviet Latvia, 1960-1990', in M. Ilić (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia and the Soviet Union*,

English-based studies on Soviet women have traditionally focused on equality and motherhood, rather than exploring wider issues such as beauty. Yulia Gradskova described both Russian and English academic work on the Soviet woman as focusing on the “gender contract”.¹⁴ The gender contract is a concept centred on women’s role to ‘fulfil both productive and reproductive functions under pressure from the Soviet state.’¹⁵ Historians have focused on women’s role in reproduction and production, which has led to beauty becoming a neglected topic, largely due to its absence in political thinking.¹⁶ Beauty is yet to receive the same attention by historians as maternity, as there has only been a recent surge in interest in the topic.¹⁷ Comparisons between Soviet and Western constructs of femininity and beauty have not been extensively explored. Holly Porteous has provided a recent, detailed analysis into the post-Soviet Russian constructs of beauty and femininity.¹⁸ Porteous concludes that the Soviet period had a ‘more natural feminine ideal’ of womanhood, compared to a post-Soviet culture that was ‘obsessed with bodily appearances’ and pressured women’s bodies to have a particular look.¹⁹ Another study in the realm of beauty is Ilić’s analysis of Soviet beauty pageants towards the end of the Soviet Union.²⁰ Ilić explores the interplay of Western beauty contests amongst the fragile structure of ‘Russian-defined Soviet cultural norms’.²¹ Both Porteous and Ilić have explored how Western constructions of beauty affected late-Soviet and post-Soviet concepts of femininity. However, beauty is heavily involved in the construction of femininity and therefore the topic needs proper consideration in other periods of the Soviet Union. Also, as maternity and beauty are interlinking topics in femininity, they should be considered alongside each other.

Comparative studies between the Soviet Union and other nations on the construction of beauty, femininity, stereotypes, and clichés are rare. Choi Chatterjee, Lisa Kirschenbaum and Deborah Field highlight the issue of Russia and the Soviet Union being viewed by historians

London, Palgrave, 2018, pp. 365-380; L. Attwood and O. Isupova, “‘To Give Birth or Not to Give Birth?’: Having Children in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia”, in M. Ilić (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia and the Soviet Union*, London, Palgrave, 2018, pp. 447-461.

¹⁴ Y. Gradskova, ‘Soviet People with Female Bodies: Performing Beauty and Maternity in Soviet Russia in the mid 1930-1960s’, PhD thesis, University of Stockholm, 2007, p. 11.

¹⁵ Gradskova, ‘Soviet People with Female Bodies’, p. 11.

¹⁶ Gradskova, p. 20.

¹⁷ Gradskova, pp. 20, 11.

¹⁸ H. Porteous, “‘A Woman Isn’t a Woman When She’s Not Concerned About the Way She Looks’: Beauty Labour and Femininity in Post-Soviet Russia”, in M. Ilić (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia and the Soviet Union*, London, Palgrave, 2018, pp. 413-428.

¹⁹ Porteous, *Palgrave Handbook*, p. 422.

²⁰ M. Ilić, ‘Women and Competition in State Socialist Societies: Soviet Beauty Contests’, in K. Miklóssy, and M. Ilić (ed.), *Competition in Socialist Society*, New York, Routledge, 2014, pp. 159-175.

²¹ Ilić, *Competition in Socialist Society*, p. 159.

as a uniquely constructed society and therefore rarely compared with other nations.²² These historians highlight that only in the last decade or so have comparative histories of Russia and the Soviet Union with the rest of the world emerged.²³ For example, Robert Griswold has explored Soviet women stereotypes in the ‘American imagination’, during the Khrushchev era.²⁴ This article analyses what American magazines, novels, and newspapers thought women needed and wanted in beauty and consumption and how this was fulfilled by Communist and Capitalist societies. Griswold’s analysis focused on pre-existing stereotypes of Soviet women in the American media, newspapers, and novels. He did not analyse representations of Soviet women in international Soviet propaganda. There is still room for many more deep explorations into the way that Soviet concepts of beauty and femininity have been interpreted and received by other nations, as it is beyond this thesis. The projected image of Soviet women in international Soviet magazines needs further exploration and consideration in English based Soviet studies.

Studies on Soviet women’s magazines have predominantly focused on the two magazines *Rabotnitsa* (Working Woman) and *Krest’vanka* (Peasant Woman) and their effect on domestic audiences.²⁵ Women’s magazines were designed to influence the opinions, thoughts and actions of Soviet women and, therefore, how their identities were constructed. Attwood is a pivotal figure in the historical research of Soviet women’s magazines. She has written extensively on the two magazines *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest’vanka* in the Stalin era. These magazines had a target audience of “ordinary” Soviet women, despite age and ethnicity.²⁶ Attwood discusses in her findings how ‘Soviet women’s magazines in the 1920s encouraged the erosion of gender difference’ through dissolving the separate spheres of men and women by actively encouraging women ‘to leave the confines of their home and enter the public realm’.²⁷ However, in the 1930s the structure of the family had not dissipated and the state had

²² C. L. Chatterjee, A. Kirschenbaum and D. A. Field, *Russia’s Long Twentieth Century: Voices, Memories, Contested Perspectives*, Oxford; New York, Routledge, 2016, p. 3.

²³ Chatterjee, Kirschenbaum and Field, *Russia’s Long Twentieth Century*, 3. Chatterjee, Kirschenbaum and Field argue that traditionally ‘Russian and Soviet history has... been treated as an aberrant story of peculiar national development’ rather than in the context of intersection with ‘other nations and empires.’

²⁴ R. L. Griswold, “‘Russian Blonde in Space’: Soviet Women in the American Imagination, 1950-1965”, *Journal of Social History*, vol. 45, no. 4, 2012, p.p 881-882.

²⁵ See: L. Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman: Women’s Magazines as Engineers of Female Identity, 1922-53*, New York, St. Martin’s Press, Inc., 1999; N. Tolstikova, ‘Rabotnitsa: The Paradoxical Success of a Soviet Women’s Magazine’, *Journalism History*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2004, pp. 131-140; R. B. Levinson, ‘The Meaning of Sexual Equality: A Comparison of the Soviet and American Definitions’, *New York Law School Journal of International and Comparative Law*, vol. 10, 1989, pp. 151-182; A. Utuzh, ‘The Portrayal of Women in the Oldest Russian Women’s Magazine “Rabotnitsa” From 1970-2017’, M.A., University of South Florida, 2018, n.p.

²⁶ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, pp. 11-12, 2.

²⁷ Attwood, p. 12.

not taken over domestic chores as was predicted.²⁸ Consequently, women were encouraged to remain performing the domestic services in women's magazines.²⁹ Newspapers and magazines 'were credited... with enormous importance as a means of socialising the population. They were seen as the main channel of communication between the Communist Party and the people, and a crucial means of disseminating propaganda.'³⁰ Just as women's magazines were an important form of propaganda used to influence Soviet citizens, they also became an important means to communicate with an international audience. Attwood's analysis of women's magazines in the Stalin era provides an excellent foundation for further research into the Khrushchev era and comparative studies between the two periods.

Consumption in magazines is also an understudied area of Soviet history. Reid's study into the image of consumption in the illustrated news magazine *Ogonek* argues that consumption has largely been neglected by English-language historians. Historians traditionally believed that Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries 'could not, by definition, be consumer societies.'³¹ However, this view is now changing as, particularly in the Khrushchev era, consumption was an integral way of measuring and displaying the Soviet living standard to foreign nations. Consumption is tied in with the foreign policy of peaceful coexistence, as this policy opened the Soviet Union to the rest of the world and created a competition against the United States for dominance in culture, science and sport.

Peaceful coexistence generated new exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States, which enabled direct comparisons between the two different social structures. The most successful societal structure would be proven through the highest standard of living, the best technological achievements, or the best performance in sport. Forms of advancement became centres of competition, such as technological achievements in space, and thus the "space race" emerged. The Soviet Union and the United States competed to achieve the most space "firsts", such as launching the first satellite, man, and woman into space, and performing the first space-walk.

The launching of Sputnik I and the first man in space, Yuri Gagarin, are traditionally focused on by English-language Soviet historians. The figure of the first man and woman in space were important representations of the ideal Soviet man and Soviet woman. They embodied traits that the Khrushchev regime promoted to citizens, such as 'moral purity', and 'physical perfection.'³² The influence Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman in space, had on

²⁸ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 13.

²⁹ Attwood, p. 13.

³⁰ Attwood, p. 2.

³¹ Reid, *Slavic Review*, pp. 214, 212-213.

³² S. Gerovitch, "'New Soviet Man' Inside Machine: Human Engineering, Spacecraft Design, and the Construction of Communism', *Osiris*, vol. 22, 2007, p. 135.

the domestic audience in the Soviet Union has been explored. Roshanna Sylvester provided an interesting insight into the impact that Tereshkova had on young Soviet girls as she argues that Tereshkova ‘broadened the landscape of girl’s imaginative possibilities.’³³ However, the international influence Tereshkova had on girls and gender equality has yet to receive extensive attention. An article by Jennifer Laurence in 1993 gave a broad overview of the international reaction to Tereshkova.³⁴ The gender equality displayed in Tereshkova’s flight influenced Western nations to reflect on their own level of equality, which Laurence briefly highlights.³⁵ However, there is still room for this to be explored in detail. Laurence argues Tereshkova was a ‘Western representation of Russianness’ as she became ‘the means by which differences among men are expunged.’³⁶ There is still a need to explore how Tereshkova’s image was projected by the Soviet Union, as Laurence claims this Western representation of the Soviet woman was the West projecting their own image onto Tereshkova.³⁷ This overview is useful as, although it is generalised, it provides a base for a more detailed analysis of the Western press’s reflection of Tereshkova’s image, whilst considering the images of Soviet women constructed in Soviet propaganda. There has not been an extensive study analysing the impact of Tereshkova’s image on the UK and Irish audiences. Laurence briefly mentions the UK and Ireland’s reaction to Tereshkova, as do a few other sources, but this is not the main focus of these studies.³⁸ Griswold’s study has interpreted the American view of three Soviet stereotypes of women, including Tereshkova,³⁹ but again the propaganda image projected by the Soviet Union is not considered. Tereshkova’s role as a propaganda image and representation of the ideal Soviet woman to international audiences needs further attention.

³³ R. Sylvester, ‘She Orbits Over the Sex Barrier: Soviet Girls and the Tereshkova Moment’, in J. Andrews and A. Siddiqi (ed.), *Into the Cosmos: Space Exploration and Soviet Culture*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011, p. 201.

³⁴ J. Laurence, ‘Women in Orbit: Satellites and Spacejunk’, *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1993, pp. 87-110.

³⁵ Laurence, *Australian Feminist Studies*, p. 97.

³⁶ Laurence, p. 99.

³⁷ Laurence, p. 99.

³⁸ See: Laurence, *Australian Feminist Studies*, p. 97; P. E. Muehlenbeck, *Gender, Sexuality, and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2017, p. 282; S. Bridger, ‘The Cold War and the Cosmos: Valentina Tereshkova and the First Woman’s Space Flight’, in M. Ilić, S. Reid and L. Attwood (ed.), *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, pp. 233-234.

³⁹ Griswold, *Journal of Social History*, pp. 881-907.

Methodology

In this thesis, I have focused on the shifting image of Soviet women between the Stalin and Khrushchev eras, and the impact this had on clichés of them in the UK and Ireland. This study is a gendered history of these two periods as the interplay of mid-twentieth century notions of masculinity and femininity in the constructed image of Soviet women is explored. Work, fashion, beauty, the home and motherhood are all themes that display the constructed image of Soviet women in international propaganda. In this thesis, I use the concept of the “Soviet woman” as an image constructed and reconstructed under the Stalin and Khrushchev regimes. This image is then explored in representations of women in Soviet propaganda, who embody specific aspects and values of this overall construct. This thesis predominantly focuses on the image of women; however, comparisons between men and women are made when applicable, such as comparing Tereshkova to Gagarin. However, the international perspective of the Soviet man’s image and a comparison with the Soviet woman’s image are topics beyond the scope of this thesis. The early Bolshevik theory on gender expected an androgynous Soviet citizen to emerge as women were de-feminised, instead of men becoming less masculine.⁴⁰ Therefore, women were encouraged to be less feminine in the early years of the Soviet Union. Tereshkova’s image was also constructed carefully by men, as seen in the decisions made by the Politburo over her fashion and title in the press.

First, this thesis is concerned with how the Soviet woman’s image was constructed in international propaganda. Second, this thesis addresses how this Soviet constructed image was reflected in its intended international audience. These two parts are studied through two kinds of primary sources: two Soviet international propaganda magazines, the *Soviet Woman* and *Soviet Union*, and UK and Irish newspapers. This study touches many areas of Soviet history as it contributes to the following topics: the construction of femininity, beauty, consumption, propaganda, and gender history in general. It also aims to cross several borders between areas that are usually treated separately. There is a comparison between the Stalinist and Khrushchev eras, and an exploration into Soviet international propaganda and its reception. This thesis does not separate the Soviet Union and the West like many studies on Soviet magazines. Instead, I am exploring Soviet magazines’ reception in an international context, not from a domestic perspective. Attention is paid to the differences between official Soviet doctrine and policies, and their application in everyday life, alongside exploring subliminal messages that were not always incorporated into official policies. It is important to analyse how Soviet propaganda images were constructed to gauge their influence on the intended audience. Therefore, in this

⁴⁰ Gradszkova, ‘Soviet People with Female Bodies’, pp. 14-15.

thesis I focus on the two international propaganda magazines *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* to gauge the constructed image of the Soviet woman in the UK and Irish newspapers. By examining articles on images of Soviet women in propaganda and newspapers, this study will display that there was a shift in these sources' images of Soviet women between the later Stalin era and the Khrushchev era.

In the words of Philo Wasburn: 'News for one person may be propaganda for another'.⁴¹ Propaganda tries to convince a mass audience that a particular viewpoint is correct through persuasion.⁴² Propaganda, in its broadest sense, is an 'attempt to transmit social and political values in the hope of affecting people's thinking, emotions, and thereby behaviour.'⁴³ This definition, while useful, needs to be explored further within the work of Jacques Ellul to understand the effectiveness of propaganda. Ellul argues that effective propaganda must be based upon either history or science and be a pre-existing common belief or symbol.⁴⁴ In recent history, the influence of technology and culture has become an integral aspect of propaganda. Joseph Nye brings propaganda into a more recent context in his theory of soft power. Soft power is a form of propaganda that displays superiority over another nation through peaceful means such as culture, political values and foreign policies, unlike hard power which is displayed in aggressive means and military strength.⁴⁵ Khrushchev implemented soft power in his foreign policy of peaceful coexistence. Under Khrushchev, the Soviet regime tried to display superior cultural and scientific achievements to counter the Western view of an unappealing social system and political values. An admiration for the Soviet Union would be generated by displays of soft power to make a socialist system appealing.

The Soviet Union utilised different forms of propaganda to influence the opinions of domestic and international audiences in many different topics. Propaganda was used on domestic audiences to persuade them to work harder, adopt Soviet values, and even construct their images. Attwood argues that domestic audiences were particularly susceptible to propaganda for several reasons. Firstly, as Moshe Lewin has described, the Russian revolution created a 'quicksand society' which left Soviet citizens in a 'state of confusion and disorientation' with nowhere to look, except in propaganda, to construct their image and identity.⁴⁶ Secondly, the control that the Soviet regime exerted over media and culture stopped

⁴¹ P. Wasburn, *Broadcasting Propaganda: International Radio Broadcasting and the Construction of Political Reality*, Connecticut, Praeger Publishers, 1992, p. 79.

⁴² Wasburn, *Broadcasting Propaganda*, p. 80.

⁴³ P. Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 4.

⁴⁴ J. Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, New York, Vintage Books, 1973, p. 40.

⁴⁵ J. S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York, Public Affairs, 2004, p. 11.

⁴⁶ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 15.

challenges to the constructed image of the Soviet citizen.⁴⁷ However, as Attwood says, it cannot be assumed that there was ‘a direct line between the representations of women and their real opinions and behaviour.’⁴⁸ This highlights that official party constructions did not always dictate reality, which is also reflected in the disparities between Soviet propaganda and its UK and Irish reception. International propaganda was focused on making the Soviet Union’s socialist structure appealing to a foreign audience. The construction of the female propaganda image varied between the Stalin and Khrushchev era. Stalinist propaganda presented women as complete equals of men, partaking in society fully. Khrushchev era propaganda displayed ordinary Soviet women through means familiar to the West. High living standards and feminine products, such as fashion, perfume, and make-up, were all opportunities to show that a socialist system could provide luxury products on equal terms with a capitalist system. As Ellul has argued, the most effective forms of propaganda are those based in truth.⁴⁹ That is why changes to Soviet culture displayed in propaganda that were also proven true by foreign visitors can be seen reflected back in the UK and Irish press. For instance, Soviet fashion was included in Soviet magazines in the late 1950s and was promoted as every Soviet woman’s interest in the Khrushchev era. UK and Irish newspapers reflected this rise of interest in fashion as they no longer called Soviet fashion “drab” and foreign visitors accounted for higher quality fashion on the streets of Moscow. On the other hand, Soviet magazine reports of an increase in living standards in the mid- to late-1950s were a propaganda construct, which failed as subsequently, UK and Irish newspapers, through visitors to the Soviet Union, reported on prevalent shortages and queues for consumer goods. Changes were also made to the image of the Soviet woman in propaganda under Stalin and Khrushchev.

Early after the Russian Revolution, there was a progressive view that Soviet women should participate in the public sphere on equal terms with men, but in reality, rather than achieving equality they were subjected to ‘rapid integration into ... the world of men.’⁵⁰ Between the Stalin and Khrushchev eras, the image of the Soviet woman underwent numerous changes. Women in the Stalin era were encouraged to enter the workforce en masse and the heavy work they were doing began to androgenise some women’s bodies.⁵¹ These de-feminised bodies influenced a resurgence back to traditional constructs of women’s bodies and gender roles in the later Stalin era, when women were encouraged to have traditional roles of motherhood and home-maker, which, with their roles as full-time workers, created a double

⁴⁷ Attwood, p. 15.

⁴⁸ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ Ellul, *Propaganda*, p. 40.

⁵⁰ B. Ehrenreich and D. English cited in Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 170.

⁵¹ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 170.

burden. Attwood believes that progressive and traditional roles in women were a blend of the 'rational' and 'romantic' as there was a need for women to partake in the workforce while filling traditional gender roles in the home.⁵² However, in the UK and Ireland, the images of masculinised woman working in heavy industry prevailed until Khrushchev increased contact with the rest of the world and actively promoted women as feminine in propaganda.

In the Cold War, cultural comparison became a way to prove the superiority of a nation's social structure. Consumer items, such as fashion, appliances, beauty products, and luxury goods, were symbols of higher living standards and became important comparisons. Comparison spread beyond consumer goods to scientific achievements, and even to comparing morals and the "ideal" citizen. An ideal image of the Soviet woman was created to represent the success of socialism in propaganda. However, expectations for women changed in the practical application of this image, which was initially created on Marxist and Bolshevik ideology. The ideal Soviet woman was repetitively re-imaged in propaganda under different Soviet regimes.

The Soviet Union's space achievements generated positive press in the West and were important displays of scientific and cultural propaganda. Scientific accomplishments engaged the whole world and were often presented as an achievement for all of mankind. The launching of Sputnik I, followed quickly by Sputnik II, impacted the world as it displayed the growth of Soviet science and technology. Traditionally, the West perceived the Soviet Union as a backward nation as their economy was industrialised later than in most nations. However, these achievements reflected the scientific growth in the Soviet Union following World War II. The Cold War power was personalised to the West in the faces of the first cosmonauts. Yuri Gagarin and Valentina Tereshkova's space flights revealed two young, intrinsically Soviet figures to the West. These two would become a focal point of Khrushchev's propaganda as they displayed Communist values in an attractive, youthful, and modern form.

Tereshkova's flight presented Soviet women as 'masters of technology',⁵³ and leading the way towards the future alongside men. However, recent scholarship has debated if Tereshkova's space flight was either the Soviet Union just achieving another 'first' in the space race, or an intentional display of gender equality.⁵⁴ Sue Bridger argues that it was a combination of the two, as it was one of many firsts, but gender equality was also a motivator as the Soviet space programme was perusing the goal of colonising space.⁵⁵ However, the lack of interest in continuing to place women in space and the abandonment of the female cosmonaut space

⁵² Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 170.

⁵³ Sylvester, *Into the Cosmos*, p. 196.

⁵⁴ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 226.

⁵⁵ Bridger, p. 226.

program in the late 1960s casts doubt on this reason for gender equality. But, exclusively with regards to Tereshkova, this thesis will argue that it was a display of gender equality and an event used for propaganda purposes.

Tereshkova was a figure who reflected the shift in the Khrushchev era towards a modern, feminine Soviet woman. The international recognition of Tereshkova as a symbol of Soviet womanhood was a unique opportunity used by the Soviet regime for propaganda. Consequently, her image was controlled and shaped by the Soviet regime through media releases and sources such as the international propaganda magazines the *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman*. The way Tereshkova was depicted is important in understanding how Soviet women were supposed to be seen abroad during the Khrushchev era. Her image is a good case study as the space launch was a highly publicised event in both Soviet magazines and in Western newspapers. Comparisons can then be drawn to see what changes had been made to the image of the Soviet woman since the Stalin era. Sylvester argues that Tereshkova was recast into 'roles more in keeping with the resurgent gender traditionalism that would mark the Brezhnev years' following her spaceflight.⁵⁶ I, however, argue that these traditional gender roles were present as women were re-cast into feminine figures during the Khrushchev era. Immediately following Tereshkova's space flight, UK and Irish newspaper articles emphasised her femininity and domestic roles. Marriage and motherhood also followed within one year of Tereshkova's space flight which placed Tereshkova firmly in the realm of traditional gender roles.

In this thesis I explore how Tereshkova's demonstration of Soviet women's equality impacted UK and Irish women and their level of equality. Inconsistencies and double messages were sent to Soviet women despite the Soviet regime having officially "solved" the woman's issue. Women were simultaneously told to break into the workforce, while remaining passive mothers and wives. Tereshkova was also constantly recast into different images, reflecting these inconsistent messages. The equal space that Soviet women held alongside men in society was displayed in Tereshkova's space flight. Tereshkova generated discussions on women's equality as women's roles in the workplace and the home were discussed in newspapers. Although it is not possible to fully gauge the outcome of this equality discussion, conservative and liberal sides are clearly represented in UK and Irish newspapers. However, Tereshkova's image showed UK and Irish audiences that working women could also be modern, feminine, and chic figures, not stocky and androgynous. Tereshkova's marriage to fellow cosmonaut Adrian Nikolayev created an image of the Soviet regime's ideal Soviet woman; Tereshkova

⁵⁶ Sylvester, *Into the Cosmos*, p. 197.

had a career, a husband, a home, and even children while participating equally in the public sphere of society. However, at the same time Tereshkova reinforced traditional stereotypes over the progressive image of working Soviet women, as she was recast into the roles of domesticity and motherhood within a year of her spaceflight. Lastly, Tereshkova's role as a political figure in the Soviet Union meant that she fully became a part of the system that she had represented in her initial publicity.

This study contributes to the historical re-evaluation of the Khrushchev era and the extent to which the "thaw" created a separation from the Stalin period. The "thaw", named after the novel *The Thaw* by Ilya Ehrenburg, refers to the relaxation of cultural and political restraints under Khrushchev's rise to power.⁵⁷ Although there was certainly a loosening of control in areas such as international relations, there is a re-evaluation amongst historians as to how far these changes actually went. Mary Buckley explores how Khrushchev created new policies which were not actually applied to society,⁵⁸ as there was 'increased monitoring, surveillance and state interference in people's everyday lives' and Soviet society faced a 'new round of legal and cultural constraints'.⁵⁹ This thesis explores the continued cultural constraints and influence the State had on its female citizens' image. Bettyann Kevles points out that Khrushchev still had the secret police to carry out his wishes, although he was not the tyrannical leader that Stalin had been.⁶⁰ The contrast with Stalin's extreme control over Soviet society, made any decrease of control appear to be a huge change. Despite this loosening of power, it is still important to analyse the continued control exerted over Soviet society. The treatment of the ideal "Soviet woman" can be a useful way to approach this issue. Soviet regimes clearly intervened in women's lives to teach them how to behave and act.⁶¹ There was an intensive propaganda campaign to form and control the image of the ideal Soviet woman. It was certainly a different image from the Stalin era, as the Soviet woman became a chic, modern, feminine figure; however, this was still a constructed image. In this thesis, there is also an investigation into Stalinist ideas that continued into Khrushchev era propaganda, such as the promotion of motherhood.

Consumption is an under-researched area of Soviet history as Western and Soviet historians have typically focused on 'production rather than consumption'.⁶² However, the efforts of the Soviet regime to control and influence the consumption of their citizens is an

⁵⁷ Chatterjee, Kirschenbaum and Field, *Russia's Long Twentieth Century*, p. 176.

⁵⁸ M. Buckley referred to in Ilić, Reid and Attwood (ed.), *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Ilić, Reid and Attwood (ed.), *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 1.

⁶⁰ B. Kevles, *Almost Heaven: The Story of Women in Space*, New York, Basic Books, 2003, p. 23.

⁶¹ M. McAndrew, 'Soviet Women's Magazines', in B. Holland (ed.), *Soviet Sisterhood*, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1985, p. 111.

⁶² Reid, *Slavic Review*, p. 213.

important topic that needs more attention. Pia Koivunen highlighted that culture is a ‘constitutive element... in the building of a socialist utopia.’⁶³ Therefore consumption is an integral aspect of this period. Reid supports the argument that consumption culture needs more attention, arguing that the Soviet Union had aimed to become ‘a world centre of culture’.⁶⁴ Consumer culture also needs to be compared between the Stalin and Khrushchev eras as women were initially seen as producers and then consumers. Consumption and the Soviet woman’s image were two interconnecting concepts as they were both tied to the domestic, or private, sphere. To display a high standard of living, the Soviet regime needed to produce an image of Soviet women consuming items and having a wide range available to them, so Soviet women’s use of beauty items and luxury goods was influenced by the competitive consumption race between the Soviet Union and the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In this thesis I explore how this consumption was presented to international audiences in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman*. These magazines are good representations of how the Soviet regime shaped their consumer culture to a foreign audience. I also analyse how Soviet consumption was interpreted and represented by the UK and Irish press through accounts of Soviet fashion, luxury goods and beauty products.

Reid’s study on Soviet consumption includes first-hand accounts of the Soviet Union by Western visitors from the late 1950s to the early 1960s.⁶⁵ She describes this type of source as ‘a somewhat despised form of contemporary document that is often dismissed as trivial, anecdotal, and lacking academic interest’.⁶⁶ However, these sources are important as they enable a comparison between Western visitors’ experiences and what was portrayed in international Soviet propaganda as it creates direct comparisons between reality and the Soviet constructed myth. In this thesis I utilise first-hand accounts by foreign visitors reported in the UK and Irish newspapers as these are a crucial form of contemporary analysis that enables an insight to how Soviet women’s images were perceived.

Griswold has explored three American stereotypes of Soviet women from the Khrushchev era.⁶⁷ These stereotypes are based on three different constructions of Soviet women’s bodies. The first stereotype was the ‘shapeless and sexless’ figure used to ‘discredit Communist women, and more important, Communism itself.’⁶⁸ The second stereotype was

⁶³ P. Koivunen, ‘The World Youth Festival as an Arena of the “Cultural Olympics”: Meanings of Competition in Soviet Culture in the 1940s and 1950s’, in K. Miklóssy, and M. Ilić (ed.), *Competition in Socialist Society*, New York, Routledge, 2014, p. 125.

⁶⁴ S. Reid referred to in Koivunen, *Competition in Socialist Society*, p. 125.

⁶⁵ Reid, *Slavic Review*, p. 215.

⁶⁶ Reid, p. 215.

⁶⁷ Griswold, *Journal of Social History*, pp. 881-907.

⁶⁸ Griswold, p. 881.

centred around Nina Khrushchev who was ‘humanized and domesticated’ to America as a grandmother figure.⁶⁹ The third stereotype was the professional women who were female ‘physicians in lab coats, women as engineers with their slide rules, even a young cosmonaut in her spaceship – a “Russian blonde in space”’.⁷⁰ Griswold concluded that these stereotypes were used interchangeably in American culture as they were needed. The figure of Nina Khrushchev was used to defuse tension as she was ‘given a human face and reconfigured into a comforting, appealing figure’ as a submissive wife and ‘huggable grandmother’.⁷¹ This made the figure of the Soviet woman ‘more approachable’ and ‘less threatening’.⁷² While Griswold has analysed the pre-existing stereotypes and clichés of Soviet women in the American imagination, he does not analyse the extent to which these images were intentionally portrayed by the Soviet Union. In this study, I intend to analyse the constructed image of Soviet women in international Soviet propaganda. I will then analyse how this constructed image influenced the Soviet woman’s representation in the UK and Irish press. This enables me to consider beyond the image that the UK and Irish constructed as I will be analysing what the Soviets were projecting to the UK and Irish in propaganda.

A recent M.A. thesis, by Anastasiia Utiuzh compared the Soviet magazine *Rabotnitsa* to capitalist women’s magazines from the 1970s till the present. Utiuzh interprets American magazines as having a political agenda as they displayed ‘the image of a woman which was beneficial for the government of a particular country.’⁷³ Although in the Soviet Union the government did control the press, Utiuzh fails to highlight that Western magazines were controlled by private companies whose primary interest was the sale of magazines. In this study, Utiuzh argues that capitalist magazines concentrated on advertising domestic and beauty products,⁷⁴ but these magazines had many messages centred on constructing a woman’s femininity so they cannot not be simply reduced to capitalist consumption. Marjorie Ferguson, on the other hand, highlights the messages in Western women’s magazines’ that Utiuzh fails to recognise. Ferguson emphasises that Western magazines’ try to shape women’s identities by assuming that females need guidance on how to construct their femininity.⁷⁵ Women were told ‘what to think and do about themselves’ by magazines, which provided them with direction and construction of an ideal image of femininity.⁷⁶ Men’s magazines, in contrast, tended to be

⁶⁹ Griswold, *Journal of Social History*, p. 881.

⁷⁰ Griswold, p. 882.

⁷¹ Griswold, p. 897.

⁷² Griswold, p. 897.

⁷³ Utiuzh, ‘The Portrayal of Women’, n.p.

⁷⁴ Utiuzh, n.p.

⁷⁵ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 2.

⁷⁶ Ferguson, p. 2.

constructed around men's hobbies, business, or sporting interests and had an implicit assumption that masculinity has been preestablished in its reader.⁷⁷ Ferguson's work has influenced my study because I believe that Soviet magazines' telling women how to feel, behave and construct their femininity was not a new concept to UK and Irish women. I create a link between the construction of women's images in Soviet magazines and in the UK and Irish press. The UK and Ireland are a good case study as women's femininity was also constructed in domestic magazines and the media at this time. In the Soviet magazines women were figures of production and reproduction under Stalin, and then feminine, chic figures under Khrushchev. In the UK and Irish newspapers there was an interplay between conservative and liberal newspapers who argued either for traditional figures of mothers and wives, or modern, liberated women in study and the workforce.

I am analysing two glossy, propaganda magazines, *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman*, which were produced in the Soviet Union as official international propaganda. *Soviet Woman* was published from 1945 and produced by the Committee of Soviet Women. *Soviet Union* was first published in March 1950 after transitioning from the magazine *U.S.S.R. in Construction*. In its new format, *Soviet Union* provided a wide analysis on all aspects of Soviet life whereas *Soviet Woman* focused on women's issues. *Soviet Woman* included stories, letters, poems and articles on the home, fashion, and beauty alongside photographs of women in work and casual settings. *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* were printed in multiple languages, including: Russian, English, Chinese, Korean, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Hungarian and Hindi.⁷⁸ These languages allowed the magazines to be circulated around many developing countries and Western nations.⁷⁹ These two magazines portrayed socialist ideas to the rest of the world and provided a constructed image of the ideal Soviet woman.

I have focused on *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* as forms of international propaganda rather than being intended for domestic readers in the Soviet Union. Many Western historians of the Soviet Union have tended to focus on women's magazines as a tool for domestic readers, with studies normally focusing on *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka*. This highlights a gap in English-based Soviet historiography as these *Soviet Woman* and *Soviet Union* have not received extensive analysis and are generally only referenced or briefly mentioned in articles and books. For example, in *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, where Ilić's overview of the era mentions feminine magazines and briefly mentions the *Soviet Woman* but never fully explores

⁷⁷ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 2.

⁷⁸ N.A., *Soviet Union*, no. 156, 1963, 1; N.A., *Soviet Woman*, no. 1, 1966, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Ilić, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 6.

the magazine and its articles.⁸⁰ As I am restricted to the English language, these magazines were also an important resource available to me. I am contributing to the historiographical gap as I am analysing how the ideal Soviet woman's image was constructed and presented to a Western reader in official propaganda. The two Soviet magazines display carefully constructed images and articles to a foreign audience that was designed to make socialism appealing to readers.

Soviet Woman only had a small domestic following,⁸¹ as it was primarily for international consumption. The UK and Irish circulation of *Soviet Woman* was approximately 1,000 copies, including several hundred regular subscribers, as reported by *The Times* in 1966, during a visit to *Soviet Woman*'s offices in Moscow.⁸² UK and Irish newspaper editors and reporters were certainly aware of the magazines and influenced by them. This is seen in advertisements for subscriptions to *Soviet Woman* in the *Manchester Guardian*,⁸³ references to the magazines in articles, and stories from reporters who visited *Soviet Woman* headquarters in Moscow (seen in *The Times*,⁸⁴ the *Daily Mail*,⁸⁵ the *Daily Telegraph*,⁸⁶ *Punch*,⁸⁷ *The Irish Times*⁸⁸). These magazines would not have been the only form of propaganda used by the Soviet regime; however, they display the Soviet regime's construct of the Soviet woman and this can be compared to how the UK and Irish newspapers represented Soviet women at this time to see if the propaganda construct was reflected back.

My time period focuses on 1945–1970, starting the year *Soviet Woman* was established in 1945, with *Soviet Union* appearing under this title from 1950. Although *Soviet Union* is not exclusively a woman's magazine it has been included because it was another international propaganda magazine. It also published articles on all areas of Soviet life, so it has many articles focusing solely on women. I have chosen to end my research at 1970 as I am analysing the aftermath of the 1963 space flight and Tereshkova's image was still used in propaganda in the late 1960s. The Stalin and Khrushchev eras had different representations of the ideal Soviet woman; however, the Khrushchev portrayal of the ideal Soviet woman changes little into the

⁸⁰ M. Ilić, 'Women in the Khrushchev Era: An Overview', in M. Ilić, S. Reid and L. Attwood (ed.), *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 6.

⁸¹ Tolstikova, *Journalism History*, p. 138.

⁸² J. Billington, 'A Hot Meal, A Magazine or a Mother in Space: Party Line', *The Times*, 28 March 1966, p. 11.

⁸³ For advertising see: N.A., 'Women in Public Life', *Manchester Guardian*, 18 November 1955, p. 3; N.A., 'Smiles on the Dnieper', *Manchester Guardian*, 28 October 1955, p. 3; N.A., 'Woman to Woman', *Manchester Guardian*, 25 March 1955, p. 9; N.A., 'Display Ad 30', *Manchester Guardian*, 25 November 1955, p. 3.

⁸⁴ J. Billington, 'A Hot Meal, A Magazine or a Mother in Space: Party Line', *The Times*, 28 March 1966, p. 11.

⁸⁵ G. Young, 'Chic in the Soviet', *Daily Mail*, 22 October 1949, p. 4; M. Horrigan, 'Love and Marriage in Russian Style', *Daily Mail*, 23 September 1969, p. 16.

⁸⁶ J. Baker White, 'Moscow's Paper War on Britain', *Daily Telegraph*, 1 October 1953, p. 6.

⁸⁷ A. Adburgham, 'Maiden Flight to Moscow', *Punch*, 6 June 1956, p. 685.

⁸⁸ E. E. Sinclair, 'Lady Comrades May Now Make-Up', *Irish Times*, 22 August 1953, p. 12; M. Mercer, 'Russia Through a Woman's Eyes: Magazines with a Mission', *Irish Times*, 9 September 1959, p. 8; C. Murphy, 'A Lot to Be Proud of', *Irish Times*, 17 June 1975, p. 12.

Brezhnev era. This study briefly touches on the Brezhnev era but mainly to measure the influence of Tereshkova's image, and gauge the changes to women's image from the Khrushchev era.

Newspapers were selected to determine the reception of the Soviet woman's image in the UK and Ireland. I selected newspapers as there was a wide range of newspaper archives available and newspapers were a major, consistent news source for ordinary people in this period, unlike the mediums of radio and television. The UK and Ireland were chosen as their response to Soviet propaganda is an under-explored area and UK and Irish newspaper archives were an available source. Newspapers were readily available for consumption during this period and many readers consumed multiple national newspapers daily.⁸⁹ Radio began declining in the 1950s with the advent of television; evening radio had audiences of around 9 million in 1949, which was reduced to around 3.5 million by 1958.⁹⁰ Television's popularity increased in the 1950s, particularly as a result of the successful broadcast of Queen Elizabeth II's coronation in 1953.⁹¹ These two media would need to be analysed together to fully understand the response of the broadcast media to the image of the Soviet woman, which is a project for future research. Henceforth, when the term "press" is used, it will only refer to newspapers and not radio or television.

UK and Irish newspapers were in flux between 1940 and 1970 as the popular, tabloid press became prominent and provincial papers' readership decreased. In 1920, provincial papers' circulation numbers were one third greater than the national presses; however, by 1966 they amounted to just over half the circulation of their national counterparts.⁹² Although the provincial press had fewer articles on Soviet women, as they would have been more focused on local news, they are still an important source. As press historian Louis Heren discusses, the tabloid press aimed to entertain the reader, while the traditional broadsheet newspapers aimed to inform the public.⁹³ The tabloid press gained mass followings and by the 1950s had outgrown the general circulation of broadsheets.⁹⁴ The *Daily Mirror* originally launched as a women's paper, but then became a radical paper designed to amuse and inform its predominantly working class readers.⁹⁵ As this is a study encompassing the UK and Ireland,

⁸⁹ C. Seymour-Ure, *The Press, Politics and the Public*, Worcester; London, The Trinity Press, 1968, p. 35.

⁹⁰ H. Chignell, *Public Issue Radio: Talks News and Current Affairs in the Twentieth Century*, Basingstoke, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2011, p. 58.

⁹¹ Chignell, *Public Issue Radio*, pp. 57-58.

⁹² Seymour-Ure, *The Press, Politics and the Public*, p. 26.

⁹³ L. Heren, 'The Post-war press in Britain', in D. Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the British Press*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1992, p. 57.

⁹⁴ E. Francis-Williams, *Dangerous Estate: The Anatomy of Newspapers*, London, William Clowes and Sons, 1957, p. 208.

⁹⁵ Heren, *The Encyclopedia of the British Press*, pp. 57-58.

several newspapers have been included from outside England, such as the Scottish *Aberdeen Evening Express* and the *Evening Telegraph and Post*, and the *Western Mail*, which was widely read all over Wales. I have also included *The Irish Times*, as it was published in the Republic of Ireland and had a readership that extended into Northern Ireland.⁹⁶ I have included a wide variety of newspapers so that a more definitive conclusion can be drawn on the UK and Irish presses' reception of the Soviet woman's image.

Thirty-two UK and Irish newspapers have been selected for the analysis in chapter four. This is due to limited archival access and time. This includes a wide variety of political alignments, a mixture of broadsheets and tabloids, regional and national papers, and a variety of circulation sizes and locations across the UK and Ireland (see appendix – table one for a full list and breakdown). These newspapers are used to gauge the extent to which the UK and Irish press reflected back the Soviet propaganda image of the Soviet women. It will provide a close idea of the newspapers political affiliations which has potentially influenced a bias response to the spaceflight and the subsequent gender discussion.

The UK and Irish newspapers often had a varied readership. No particular paper could be classified as 'a women's paper' in the 1960s, as women read a wide variety of papers.⁹⁷ Women comprised nearly half the readership of the *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Telegraph*.⁹⁸ However, women only tended to read one national newspaper, unlike men, who would typically read multiple papers a day.⁹⁹ Broadsheet newspapers, such as *The Times* and the *Guardian*, were less appealing to women during this period, who more frequently read tabloid papers.¹⁰⁰

In the period considered, there was typically a correlation between a person's social status and the type of paper they read. *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* were likely to be read by upper-middle classes, whereas the *Daily Herald/Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* had a wide readership among people with middle-lower class backgrounds.¹⁰¹

The political affiliations of UK and Irish newspapers are important as this could shape their view on events, and any pre-existing bias needs to be taken into account. However, the politics of the reader of a newspaper did not always match the political alignment of the paper, as socioeconomic class was a stronger determination of readership than political affiliation.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ *Newspaper Press Directory: Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World*, 1966, 115th Issue, London, Benn Brothers Limited, 1966, p. 272.

⁹⁷ Seymour-Ure, *The Press, Politics and the Public*, p. 36.

⁹⁸ Seymour-Ure, p. 34.

⁹⁹ Seymour-Ure, p. 35.

¹⁰⁰ Seymour-Ure, p. 36.

¹⁰¹ Seymour-Ure, p. 40.

¹⁰² Seymour-Ure, p. 56.

I have been able to undertake this study because of the digitisation of newspapers. The breadth and depth of search results and the amount of newspapers analysed could not have occurred without online archives. Although key word searches do have limitations, the newfound ability for historians to accurately access relevant information amongst the huge quantity of content published is invaluable.¹⁰³ The digitisation of newspapers now allows historians to analyse decades of data at once.¹⁰⁴ Newspaper and media historian, Adrian Bingham argues that modern histories of the UK and Ireland have neglected newspapers because of the ‘inconvenience of accessing them and the difficulties of finding relevant material amongst the sheer quantity of content published.’¹⁰⁵ Digitisation has removed these barriers by enabling fast results and provides a ‘far greater and more sophisticated engagement with newspaper content.’¹⁰⁶ Bob Nicholson points out that keyword searches reverse the newspaper analysis process. Instead of scouring microfilms for newspaper titles that are relevant to the topic being analysed and then analysing the body of text, the historian uses keywords found in the body of text to analyse whether the article is relevant. Nicholson argues that the top-down method, title – issue – headers – article text, is reversed with keyword searches as the text alerts the reader to a match rather than the title.¹⁰⁷ The bottom-up search method is especially useful for analysing long-term impacts or topics as these articles can appear in any issue and are not usually centred around a specific event or date.¹⁰⁸ Keyword searches do have limitations, as Joanna Guldi highlights, such as word’s meanings changing throughout time and the unreliability of technology to always recognise specific words.¹⁰⁹ Guldi advocates for keyword searches as they allow historians to search in ‘a room full of straw for the few strands of gold, amplifying the powers of the historian to collect and describe.’¹¹⁰ There are still issues with newspapers despite their digitisation. Nineteenth century newspapers have been more thoroughly digitised than twentieth century newspapers, as copy right still covers this era and many newspapers have private archives which can create barriers when trying to analyse multiple newspapers.¹¹¹ Newspapers in the 1940s–1970s are limited as much

¹⁰³ A. Bingham, ‘The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians’, *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2010, p. 225.

¹⁰⁴ B. Nicholson, ‘The Digital Turn: Exploring the Methodological Possibilities of Digital Newspaper Archives’, *Media History*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2013, pp. 66-67.

¹⁰⁵ Bingham, *Twentieth Century British History*, p. 225.

¹⁰⁶ Bingham, p. 225.

¹⁰⁷ Nicholson, *Media History*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁰⁸ Nicholson uses the example of the Titanic sinking by arguing that to analyse newspaper coverage of the disaster a historian would read newspapers around April 12th. However, he argues that to analyse the afterlife of the event the method of reading every newspaper is impractical and time consuming. Nicholson, *Media History*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁰⁹ J. Guldi, ‘The History of Walking and the Digital Turn: Stride and Lounge in London, 1808-1851’, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 84, no. 1, 2012, p. 117.

¹¹⁰ Guldi, *The Journal of Modern History*, p. 118.

¹¹¹ Guldi, p. 116.

of this period is yet to be digitised. For instance, the *Daily Worker* and the *Morning Star* archive has only been digitised between 1930 and 1945 and from 2000 onwards.¹¹² As Bingham has highlighted,¹¹³ newspapers remain an underutilised source material and need further attention, and the digitisation of newspapers assists in this exploration.

In this study, I have used digital archives to analyse information from a wide time period. I used several key word searches when gathering information from these archives. Some examples of these key word searches are combinations of: Russian, Soviet, Women, Woman, Fashion, Beauty, Elegant, Glamour, Tereshkova. In this time period “Russian” and “Soviet” are used interchangeably in UK and Irish newspaper articles, so both terms needed to be used. A drawback of using digitised sources is the missed articles not picked up by keyword searches due to poor scanning quality that prevents words from being found; however, the large quantity of articles picked up in the searches outweigh this issue. Articles whose titles did not indicate a content match were found in key word searches whereas previously they would not have been found in manual microfiche searches.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the extent to which the Soviet propaganda image of women was reflected back in the UK and Irish press. Newspapers do not necessarily determine the extent to which propaganda shaped the UK and Irish public’s perception of the Soviet woman. Virginia Berridge highlights this issue of historians believing that newspapers, and editorials in particular, are a direct reflection of the opinions of the public.¹¹⁴ Berridge believes that relying ‘on editorial attitudes is dubious as an indicator of audience readership or even of the views of the readership.’¹¹⁵ Therefore, this thesis is not trying to predict the UK and Irish public’s opinion of Soviet women, instead it is analysing the newspapers’ reaction to propaganda.

In the Stalin era, foreign reporters operating in the Soviet Union had their news reports heavily censored. Censorship had been in place since the 1920s and telegrams had to be approved by the Foreign Office Press Department.¹¹⁶ In reaction to early reports on the Ukraine famine, stronger restrictions on reporters were introduced in the early 1930s, such as reporters requiring permission to leave Moscow and Leningrad to travel to other areas of the Soviet

¹¹² See: <https://www.marx-memorial-library.org/collections/the-daily-worker-and-morning-star-collection>. Accessed 21st March 2019.

¹¹³ Bingham, *Twentieth Century British History*, p. 225.

¹¹⁴ V. Berridge, ‘Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers’, in M. Harris and A. Lee (ed.), *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, London, Associated University Presses, 1986, p. 205.

¹¹⁵ Berridge, *The Press in English Society*, p. 205.

¹¹⁶ S. Purvis and J. Hulbert, *When Reporters Cross the Line: The Heroes, the Villains, the Hackers and the Spies*, London, Biteback Publishing Ltd., 2013, p. 79.

Union.¹¹⁷ Internal passports were also introduced and prevented peasants from spreading stories of the famine.¹¹⁸ Censorship and the rejection of reporters' telegrams only escalated into the 1940s and 1950s. This coincided with the 1946 breakdown in British–Soviet relations and the subsequent disillusionment with the Soviet Union in the UK and Irish press.¹¹⁹ Post-World War II, censorship became stricter as ordinary Soviet citizens were forbidden from speaking to foreign visitors and correspondents, and correspondents had to pass their reports through the Main Administration for Literary Affairs (Glavlit), who came under the direct control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.¹²⁰ Barbara Walker has emphasised that this control exerted over information was an attempt by the state to prevent any information they believed 'would reflect poorly on the Soviet Union' from being released.¹²¹ This included 'almost anything to do with daily life or the Soviet private citizen and his or her opinions.'¹²² This censorship reveals the extreme control the Soviet regime exerted over the representation of Soviet citizens and their daily lives.

Although compared to the Stalin era, restrictions on reporters did lighten under Khrushchev, there was still censoring of outgoing stories and viewpoints, which displays the continued control exerted on the foreign press. Moscow's censorship of outgoing correspondent reports created a responsibility on newspaper editors and the UK and Irish governments to educate the public.¹²³

Determining a connection between *Soviet Woman*, *Soviet Union* and the UK and Irish press is difficult. Although beyond the references to the magazines found in UK and Irish newspaper articles, which directly proves that the newspapers were aware of them and used them, there is no direct evidence to show that reporters were using these on a regular basis. However, Moscow reporters from the Cold War have written in their memoirs how restricted information was and their need to utilise any available sources. Two such reporters, Harrison Salisbury and Henry Shapiro, listened to broadcasts and read as many articles as they could to determine microscopically hinted changes, such as Party members not being included in

¹¹⁷ Purvis and Hulbert, *When Reporters Cross the Line*, p. 71.

¹¹⁸ Purvis and Hulbert, p. 71.

¹¹⁹ J. Jenks, *British Propaganda and News Media in the Cold War*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2006, p. 33. Jenks writes of the post-war disillusion and changing attitude of the British press towards the Soviet Union.

¹²⁰ Previously, censorship was controlled by the Foreign Ministries Press Department. W. Bassow, *The Moscow Correspondents: Reporting on Russia from the Revolution to Glasnost*, New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1988, pp. 121-123.

¹²¹ B. Walker, 'The Moscow Correspondents, Soviet Human Rights Activists, and the Problem of the Western Gift', in Choi Chatterjee and Beth Holmgren, *Americans Experience Russia: Encountering the Enigma, 1917 to the Present, 2013*, New York, Routledge, 2013, p. 142.

¹²² Walker, *Americans Experience Russia*, p. 142.

¹²³ Jenks, *British Propaganda and News*, p. 33.

meeting reports or leisure outings which implied they had been purged or ousted.¹²⁴ Both reporters were so efficient at this journalistic tactic that they were believed to have informants in the Soviet government. Salisbury recounted in his memoir listening to TASS, the largest Soviet news agency's transmission at 3a.m., while combing through fifteen or sixteen provincial papers, as he waited for the daily issue of *Pravda* to be released.¹²⁵ The use of provincial papers highlights that these journalists were utilising any and every available news source. Consequently, these journalists probably did utilise the two magazines *Soviet Woman* and *Soviet Union* when they were available, particularly considering they often did not speak Russian when they first arrived in Moscow.¹²⁶ Smaller newspapers in the UK and Ireland would have relied on the two Associated Press and one United Press International Moscow correspondents,¹²⁷ or the official Soviet press for information.

The correlation between Soviet international propaganda and its reflection in the intended audience's opinions is an under studied area. Understanding the projected propaganda image is integral to understanding its effectiveness. *Soviet Woman* and *Soviet Union* are excellent examples of official propaganda that represented the image of the ideal Soviet woman to an international audience, including the UK and Ireland. The analysis of these propaganda magazines will then enable a detailed study of the Soviet woman's image reflected in UK and Irish newspapers.

¹²⁴ Shapiro: N. Daniloff, *Of Spies and Spokesmen: My Life as a Cold War Correspondent*, Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 2008, 119; Salisbury: H. E. Salisbury, *A Journey for Our Times: A Memoir*, New York, Carroll and Graf, 1984, pp. 430-438.

¹²⁵ Salisbury, *A Journey for Our Times*, p. 435.

¹²⁶ Salisbury, p. 209.

¹²⁷ This source states that these three correspondents created the majority of the content on the Soviet Union that millions in America, and the rest of the world read. Bassow, *The Moscow Correspondents*, p. 125.

Approaching the Problem

This thesis is structured in four chapters. The historical context behind the issue is laid out to frame the research. Then the international propaganda image of Soviet women is analysed under the Stalin and Khrushchev eras. Lastly, UK and Irish newspapers' interpretation and discussion of the image of Soviet women is explored. Overall, these chapters reveal that the image of the Soviet woman transformed as the Soviet regime's agendas changed, which was then reflected in the UK and Irish press.

In the first chapter, I provide context for early Marxism-informed Bolshevik policies towards women. Then I analyse how these policies affected Soviet women in the formative years of the Soviet Union, the shift in these policies under Stalin, and finally, the changes that were implemented by Khrushchev. I have also included an account of the development of the Soviet space race and how it became an integral aspect of Soviet propaganda displaying technological dominance to the rest of the world. This chapter is primarily concerned with images of Soviet women prior to the propaganda that is explored in chapters two and three.

In the second chapter, I analyse how Soviet women were portrayed and represented in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* under Stalin's regime. Chapter two uncovers how the Soviet woman became an increasingly contradictory figure in the multiple ways this image was represented in propaganda. In the Stalin era, the Soviet woman was encouraged to be a fully functioning worker in Soviet society while simultaneously being the primary carer for children, wife and home-maker. The consequent masculinisation of Soviet women's bodies by heavy manual labour led to messages of equality becoming tainted with messages of traditional femininity. Overall though, women were primarily focused on as the producer and reproducer in this era.

The third chapter analyses the changes in the Soviet women's image in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* magazines under Khrushchev. This chapter concludes there was a stronger emphasis on femininity and beauty in the consciousness of the "new Soviet woman". Fashion, cosmetics, and luxury goods all were displayed as being widely available to Soviet woman in Khrushchev's era. The cultural competition between the Soviet Union and the United States created this shift towards consumption and traditional femininity in the Soviet woman's propaganda image. Valentina Tereshkova is a pivotal representation of femininity in this era as she received international attention as the first female cosmonaut and represented the "new Soviet woman". The Soviet regime carefully constructed an image around Tereshkova and analysis of this image will help measure the impact of her image on Western perceptions of Soviet women.

UK and Irish newspapers are analysed in the fourth chapter to measure their reactions to and interpretations of the Soviet woman's propaganda image. This section is split into three categories: fashion, appearance, and gender equality. These are three recurring themes in the representation of Soviet women in the UK and Irish press from 1945 to 1970. Soviet women's drab fashion was a key issue for these newspapers in the Stalin era and the Khrushchev regime's deliberate changes and effort in Soviet fashion were also reflected. Soviet women's physical appearance transitioned from being seen as stocky, androgenised figures in the Stalin era to more traditionally feminine figures who embraced beauty and used luxury goods under Khrushchev. Lastly, gender equality was not represented as breaking women away from a traditionally feminine appearance in the Khrushchev era. Instead, Tereshkova was re-cast into the traditionally feminine roles of wife and mother following her space flight. Although this displayed that the Soviet woman could have it all, career, husband, and motherhood, it simultaneously emphasised traditional gender constraints. Tereshkova influenced a debate on gender equality in the UK and Irish press as both conservative and liberal articles on this emerged.

Overall, these four chapters demonstrate how the Soviet woman's image was constructed to influence an international audience and how this image was reflected back in the UK and Irish press. This provides an insight into the significance and effectiveness of Cold War propaganda and the constructed image of the Soviet woman over the period considered. The foreign press operating in the Soviet Union was heavily censored by the regime throughout the period considered,¹²⁸ which sometimes forced them to rely on information recognised and acknowledged as propaganda. This thesis will display a reflection of Soviet propaganda trends in the UK and Irish press. In the Stalin era, the Soviet woman construct was of a woman fully participating in the economy, and in the Khrushchev era, it was a re-feminised woman who is interested in fashion and beauty. Although both images were believed and accepted, the Khrushchev construction of the Soviet woman created a debate over gender equality in newspapers as this figure's feminine form was comparable and recognisable to women in the UK and Ireland.

¹²⁸ Bassow, *The Moscow Correspondents*, pp. 121-123.

Chapter One: Soviet Women's Image

In Marxist theory, in a future socialist society, women would be the equals of men. Although Marx and Engels did not write specifically on gender relations, this topic was discussed in their works, and much of the Marxist theory on this issue is based on Engels' work, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. The Bolsheviks adopted this ideology early in their policies but the actual application of female equality in everyday life proved to be difficult.

Women's roles shifted during the political and cultural changes in the Soviet Union in the Stalin and Khrushchev eras. Women worked full-time while remaining the primary caregivers and homemakers in the 1930s to 1950s.¹ Following World War II, more women were forced into these positions as the substantial loss of male life left many women without a primary earner. Women were often confined to low-skilled jobs even in industries where females made up the majority of the workers.² These low-skilled, heavy labour roles contributed to the stereotype that Soviet women's bodies were de-feminised through a double-burdened life. Under Stalin, the de-feminised Soviet woman stereotype began to be addressed before it became intensively focused on in the Khrushchev era. In what follows, I will explore the mixing of policies that instructed women to perform heavy labour in "masculine" roles while retaining their feminine form and traits.

The de-Stalinisation that began in the late 1950s created a shift in Soviet foreign policies from military rivalry to peaceful coexistence as Khrushchev aimed to demonstrate Soviet superiority by cultural means. Cultural displays in sport, science and the arts enabled direct comparisons between the Soviet Union and Western nations and evidence of the success communism brought.³ The Soviet space programme became an important area of international comparison.

The early Soviet space programme displayed the progress the Soviet Union had made in technology. In 1957, the Soviets took the West by surprise by launching the first satellite in space, Sputnik I.⁴ Beating the United States programme, and launching such a heavy satellite, led many to believe that science held a 'more respected position in Soviet culture than in America.'⁵ Yuri Gagarin and Valentina Tereshkova, the first male and female cosmonauts, were influential figures as their popularity, both domestic and international, and helped spread

¹ D. Filtzer, 'Women Workers in the Khrushchev Era', in M. Ilić, S. Reid, and L. Attwood (ed.), *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 29.

² Filtzer, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 33.

³ J. M. Thompson, *A Vision Unfulfilled: Russia and the Soviet Union in the Twentieth Century*, Massachusetts; Toronto, D. C. Heath and Company, 1996, p. 374.

⁴ Nye, *Soft Power*, p. 74.

⁵ Nye, p. 74.

the policies Khrushchev was implementing. These fresh faces represented the new, young, attractive Soviet Union that was being presented to the West.

Position and Image of Women in Soviet Society

The interpretation of Marxist theory with regard to women shifted throughout the Soviet era under different leaders. Women's emancipation was seen in Soviet ideology as being "solved" by incorporating women into the workforce and in the collectivisation of housework and childcare.⁶ In this section I will explore three contextual issues that influenced women's position and image in Soviet society. Firstly, I will analyse how women were to be included in a socialist society in Marx's and Engels' work and how this impacted Bolshevik policies. Secondly, in the Stalin era, women's place in society was reassessed as the practical application of some Bolshevik principles could not align with reality. Lastly, Khrushchev's denouncement of Stalin created changes in policies that influenced the propaganda image of women.

The Marxist theory of gender influenced the Bolshevik ideology towards women, which, in turn, helped shape Soviet society. There is a tendency to view Marx's and Engels' works separately in recent scholarship with Marxist gender studies relying on Engels' work, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.⁷ Marx's work on gender is scattered throughout his essays and unpublished notes. However, their views on gender are predominantly similar with both focusing on the oppression that women experienced in a capitalist society from a distinctly economic point of view.⁸ Engels claims that women's oppression commenced with the privatisation of property.⁹ He argues that as man became the primary hunter, women's roles were reduced to primary child bearers.¹⁰ Engels continues to assert that women's oppression was based on man's need to assure women's fidelity to guarantee that their inheritance went only to their kin.¹¹ Consequently, the overthrow of capitalism would begin to end women's oppression as there would not be property inheritance to pass on to the next generation. However, Engels neglects other non-economic forms of oppression, such as their 'slave status in the family',¹² which the Bolsheviks would later fail to fully address as they tried to apply gender equality to a society.

Despite many key similarities between Marxism and feminism, there has always been a distinct division. The Bolsheviks had an early mistrust of Western feminism as to them it was

⁶ E. A. Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia*, Bloomington; Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1997, p. 14.

⁷ H. Brown, *Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study*, Boston; Leiden, Brill, 2012, p. 211.

⁸ Brown, *Marx on Gender and the Family*, pp. 137-138.

⁹ H. Hartmann, 'The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union', in L. Sargent (ed.), *Women and Revolution: A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism*, Boston, South End Press, 1981, p. 4.

¹⁰ Brown, *Marx on Gender and the Family*, p. 165.

¹¹ Hartmann, *Women and Revolution*, p. 4.

¹² M. Buckley, 'Soviet Interpretations of the Woman Question', in B. Holland (ed.), *Soviet Sisterhood*, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1985, p. 31.

an ideology of upper class women who were attempting to further their own interests.¹³ There was a clear dismay towards feminism, which early Bolsheviks sometimes used as a brand against female sectors of the Party who criticised policies focused on female issues.¹⁴ Elizabeth Wood has explained this Bolshevik desire to link women's oppression with class oppression so that no special attention was given to women as it potentially 'threatened' the class nature of the revolution.¹⁵ Women were ultimately tied to the desires of a Bolshevik revolution through the linking of their desire for equality under the umbrella term of class. Many Marxists also argued that feminism was actually a secondary ideology as it was tied to class conflict and feminism had the potential to merely distract from the main issue of the working classes.¹⁶ Heide Hartmann argues that though early Marxists 'were aware of the deplorable situation of women in their time the[y] failed to focus on the *differences* between men's and women's experiences under capitalism. They did not focus on the female questions – how and why women are oppressed as women.'¹⁷ Rather, the Bolsheviks saw women's equality as being tied with class and therefore if the antagonistic class system was abolished, then women's equality would follow.

Prior to the 1917 revolution, the majority of the Bolsheviks, with the exception of the gender theorist Aleksandra Kollontai, did not write anything new on women's issues, instead relying heavily on traditional Marxist ideology.¹⁸ It was important that the Bolsheviks had women's support for the 1917 revolution, rather than having them side with feminists or the Mensheviks,¹⁹ as women had the power to 'sabotage the new political order'.²⁰ Without women's support, the revolution would have been missing a large proportion of their workers, which consisted of women during World War I. The Bolshevik also needed women's support because of women's responsibility in raising the next generation;²¹ as mothers they had an important role in shaping future generations and influencing their children's attitudes either for or against a socialist society and, as Lenin said, 'you cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing women into politics as well'.²² Women were, after-all, half of the population. Although the Bolsheviks did not specifically focus on women's issues, other than promising

¹³ Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade*, p. 2.

¹⁴ Wood, p. 5.

¹⁵ Wood, p. 2.

¹⁶ Hartmann, *Women and the Revolution*, p. 2.

¹⁷ Hartmann, 5 p..

¹⁸ Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade*, p. 14.

¹⁹ In 1903, a dispute in the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party led to the party dividing into two groups – the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks – who became political rivals.

²⁰ Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade*, pp. 3, 14.

²¹ Wood, p. 3.

²² V. I. Lenin, *On the Emancipation of Women*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1977, cited in M. Buckley (ed.), *Women and Ideology in the Soviet Union*, Worcester, Billing and Sons Ltd., 1989, p. 25.

them equality under Communism, their main slogan during World War I of 'Peace, Bread and Land' was particularly appealing for women.²³ The rationing of bread and long lines for food were a distinct issue amongst women in the cities and influenced women's support towards the Bolsheviks.

Lenin's theory on women reflected the ideology of Engels and Marx, except he was more focused on the practical application of the theory of equality.²⁴ Lenin believed that women could only be lifted out of their oppression under capitalism, which they experienced both at work and at home, through a socialist revolution.²⁵ Immediately following the revolution the Bolsheviks announced women as equals of men;²⁶ however, actually making women equals in everyday society proved to be more difficult than a simple declaration. Attwood attributes this difficulty of implementing women's equality in Soviet society to the deeply misogynistic Russian culture prior to the revolution.²⁷ For example, women conducted most of the domestic duties in the home. Following the revolution, women's oppression in homes was difficult to overcome because there was little male participation in domestic service as it did not serve the male interest.²⁸ Instead of trying to create a culture of male participation in domestic chores, the Bolsheviks promoted a future ideal of collectivised housework.²⁹ Lenin goes further than Marx and Engels by focusing women's need for emancipation from the domestic sphere:

Notwithstanding all the liberating laws that have been passed... [woman] continues to be a *domestic slave*, because *petty housework* crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and to the nursery, and wastes her labour on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery. The real *emancipation of women*, real communism, will begin only when a mass struggle (led by the proletariat which is in power) is started against this petty domestic economy, or rather when it is *transformed on a mass scale* into large-scale socialist economy.³⁰

Here Lenin expresses a clear need for collectivised domestic service to overcome women's oppression of domestic labour. However, overcoming the domestic burden was more difficult in the practical application of legislation and collectivisation.

²³ Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade*, p. 30-31.

²⁴ M. Buckley, *Women and Ideology in the Soviet Union*, Worcester, Billing and Sons Ltd., 1989, p. 25.

²⁵ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 25.

²⁶ Buckley, p. 26.

²⁷ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 172.

²⁸ Attwood, p. 172.

²⁹ Hartmann, *Women and Revolution*, pp. 4-5.

³⁰ Lenin, *On the Emancipation of Women*, in Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 26.

The early legislations of the Bolsheviks to help emancipate women were important in changing the structure of society and shaping the role of the “new Soviet woman.”³¹ Marx and Engels believed that the structure of the nuclear family would slowly dissolve after a socialist revolution as the family was no longer the cornerstone of society, as it is under capitalism, and the state would overtake many roles filled by a family.³² Laws, such as the simplification of divorce procedures that would allow men and women to enter and leave unions, would slowly dissolve the structure of the family.³³ The Bolsheviks used this Marxist theory to create new laws that gave more independence to women, such as easy divorce procedures, legalised abortion, and equal rights for mothers with children born outside of wedlock.³⁴ However, laws that simplified divorces supported a woman’s right to leave an abusive husband, but fell short of encouraging adoption of this law.³⁵ Lenin saw women’s emancipation from their fathers and husbands being achieved by their undertaking paid labour in industries.³⁶

In 1920 the Soviet government legalised abortion, classifying it as a ‘necessary evil’ to prevent illegal abortions which were a health risk for women.³⁷ During this time, unlike most European governments, the Soviet government did not actively encourage citizens to have children to compensate for the significant population loss caused by World War I.³⁸ This legalisation aligned with Lenin’s view that abortion was only a temporary necessity and the state would become capable of providing widespread state support. This view was based on the vision of an early Bolshevik ideologist on gender, Alexandra Kollontai, that the state would take responsibility for all children through state support to mothers and the collectivisation of day care for children.³⁹ Once mothers received enough state support that children were no longer feared or a burden on women, then abortion would be banned again to allow unrestricted childbirth.⁴⁰ In 1936, under Stalin, abortion was banned, with propaganda magazines asserting that complete state support for mothers, as envisaged by Lenin, had been achieved.⁴¹ Stalin’s regime did not acknowledge that the level of support from the state for new mothers differed vastly from Lenin’s intended vision. Motherhood held a significant place in Russian culture

³¹ The “new Soviet woman” was a construction that originated soon after the Bolshevik revolution and sought to create a new, ideal image for Soviet women to follow. This “new Soviet woman” would be reimagined and reconstructed under different regimes during the period considered. For instance, under Bolshevik ideology this ideal woman was an androgynous figure, under Stalin a producer in industries and the family, and under Khrushchev a feminine figure interested in fashion, beauty products and luxury household goods.

³² Brown, *Marx on Gender and the Family*, p. 8.

³³ Buckley, *Soviet Sisterhood*, p. 34.

³⁴ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 26.

³⁵ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 5.

³⁶ Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade*, pp. 15-16.

³⁷ Wood, p. 106-107.

³⁸ Wood, p. 106.

³⁹ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 117.

⁴⁰ Attwood, p. 117.

⁴¹ Attwood, p. 117.

and this would be carried into the Soviet era as it was heavily promoted in propaganda. The lack of media coverage on the second legalisation of abortion in 1955 shows this emphasis on motherhood.⁴² Soviet leaders did not promote the shift in policy as they ‘did not wish large numbers of women to resort to abortion instead of childbirth’.⁴³ This legalisation was not a change in ideology or beliefs but rather was once again influenced by the danger of underground abortions.⁴⁴

Women’s involvement in the workforce was supposed to give them a degree of financial freedom and enable them to develop important skills beyond the domestic sphere. The initial involvement of women in the workforce was not a movement across the whole economy. Rather, women were channelled into low-paying and traditionally female roles, like textile workers.⁴⁵ Buckley attributes this constriction in women’s choice of workplace roles to the lack of adequate childcare in many industries and the persistence of ‘traditional gender roles’.⁴⁶ In 1885, women made up 22 per cent of the industrial workforce in Russia and by 1914 this had risen to 32 per cent.⁴⁷ During World War I this grew to 40 per cent by 1917 and further to 46 per cent by 1920.⁴⁸

Communist ideology claimed that eventually men and women would not need to be distinguished between and simply would be seen as equals under both law and in society.⁴⁹ Rather than basing identities in genders, religion, class or ethnicity, the Bolsheviks believed future identities would be based in economic activity.⁵⁰ However, Attwood argues that assimilating women into the public/work sphere within a masculine context, rather than through women’s own context, was a significant issue in women’s equality in this period.⁵¹ It was easier to bring women into the public sphere by having them adapt to the workforce as men had constructed it, rather than focusing on the needs and limitations that women faced. Although some effort was made with certain areas like childcare, this was mainly restricted to the cities, and women still encountered significant domestic burdens at home. This also led to a lack of women’s participation in politics as full-time working women, having finished their shifts, still had washing, cooking and cleaning to do, which left little extra time for anything

⁴² Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 156.

⁴³ Buckley, p. 156.

⁴⁴ Buckley, p. 156.

⁴⁵ Buckley, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Buckley, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade*, p. 27.

⁴⁸ Wood, p. 27.

⁴⁹ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 25.

⁵⁰ R. Cox, “‘NEP Without Nepmen: Soviet Advertising and the Transition to Socialism’, in C. Kiaer and E. Naiman (ed.), *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside*, Bloomington; Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2006, p. 121.

⁵¹ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 3.

else.⁵² Leon Trotsky acknowledged this problem in his 1923 publication *Problems of Everyday Life*, where he addressed the issues of inequality in marriage, which would only be overturned by a fundamental societal change.⁵³ This acknowledgement that inequality existed at a deeper level than laws was not focused on by the Bolshevik Party. Instead, the “woman question” was declared to have been solved in the law changes implemented under Lenin and Stalin.⁵⁴

Early Bolshevik ideology believed the gendered differences between men and women would slowly disappear in a socialist society. This rejection of femininity was explored in Bolshevik fiction. One early example of this was the 1908 utopian novel *Red Star* by Bolshevik Alexander Bogdanov, which describes a Communist, utopian future. In the novel the earthly main character is taken to Mars to experience a Communist society that has developed. Once there the main character finds it almost impossible to distinguish between male and female Martians as gender has become irrelevant under Communism. He observes that:

Everywhere were throngs of large-eyed children – of which sex it was impossible to tell, for boys and girls were dressed identically. True, it is difficult to distinguish even the adult Martian men from the women solely on the basis of their dress, as it is fundamentally the same and differs only slightly in style.⁵⁵

This vision of a utopian, Communist future embodies the early Bolshevik belief that men and women would become indistinguishable in the future. Similarly, this idea can be seen later in the 1926 Soviet play “I Want a Child!”, by Sergei Tret’iakov. In the play, the main female character Milda outright refuses traditional femininity.⁵⁶ She is an embodiment of what historian Christina Kiaer calls the ‘androgynous and asexual Bolshevik woman’.⁵⁷ Milda appears to the other characters of the play as an androgynous woman dressed in a man’s suit, except once when she is attempting to seduce a male character as she wants to have a child.⁵⁸ Here, Milda uses a constructed image of traditional femininity to seduce the male character with perfume, waved hair, make-up and a dress.⁵⁹ Milda returns to her androgynous appearance having achieved her goal of conceiving a baby without a husband or traditional family and

⁵² Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 26.

⁵³ C. Kiaer and E. Naiman (ed.), *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside*, Bloomington; Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2006, p. 4.

⁵⁴ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 112.

⁵⁵ A. Bogdanov, *Red Star: A Utopia*, L. R. Graham and R. Stites (ed.), C. Roughton transl., Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1984, p. 69.

⁵⁶ C. Kiaer, ‘Delivered from Capitalism: Nostalgia, Alienation, and the Future of Reproduction in Tret’iakov’s “I Want a Child!”’, in C. Kiaer and E. Naiman (ed.), *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside*, Bloomington; Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2006, p. 193.

⁵⁷ Kiaer, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia*, p. 193.

⁵⁸ Kiaer, p. 194.

⁵⁹ Kiaer, p. 194.

rejects the construction of traditional femininity.⁶⁰ These two examples clearly indicate that Bolshevik ideology was deconstructing traditional femininity and that the new Soviet woman would not be bound by traditional constraints.

The Bolsheviks planned to collectivise housework to relieve women of their ‘double burden’.⁶¹ This ambitious goal sought to collectivise ‘child care, cooking, laundry, and shopping to emancipate women’; however, it ‘remained mostly at the level of representational fantasy in posters during the period of the New Economic Policy.’⁶² In the 1920s, the Communist Party ran a propaganda campaign focusing on creating a “new life”.⁶³ This “new life” aimed to modernise the peasant population as domestic services were collectivised and personal and domestic hygiene was promoted.⁶⁴ In the 1930s, this concept shifted towards a fundamentally different notion of ‘cultured life’ centred more on individual consumption and a private sphere, which would provide a route ‘to a modern, rational, cultured, and Soviet everyday life.’⁶⁵ However, promoting consumption of modern luxury goods such as clothing, cosmetics and toiletries was now used to show the high standard of living that Communism had brought, rather than being a part of a bourgeois culture. In political posters, figures who were dressed in modern fashions usually were depicted as bourgeois villains and enemies of the state;⁶⁶ however, in advertisements of clothing, cosmetics and toiletries they were used as examples of the development of a “new culture”.⁶⁷ The women’s magazine *Rabotnitsa* explained this consumerism would occur not ‘in a “bourgeois” way as in not... exploiting other people, but in the sense of having culture, elegance and comfort’ in peasants’ personal lives.⁶⁸ This directly shows the attempt to make a distinction between the exploitative nature of the bourgeoisie and the creation of consumption of goods to form a higher standard of living for the Soviet people. These goods were shown to be available and accessible to every family, which showed that life had improved in the Soviet Union, contributing to the myth of life under Stalin.

The Stalin era saw the construction of a myth presented in propaganda, that life had become better and more cheerful in the Soviet Union. This would come to influence the image of the “new Soviet woman” in this era.⁶⁹ The new Soviet woman was supposed to take a

⁶⁰ Kiaer, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia*, p. 194.

⁶¹ Hartmann, *Women and Revolution*, p. 5.

⁶² Kiaer and Naiman, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia*, pp. 5-6.

⁶³ Kiaer and Naiman, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁴ Kiaer and Naiman, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁵ Kiaer and Naiman, p. 6.

⁶⁶ Cox, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia*, p. 143.

⁶⁷ Cox, p. 143.

⁶⁸ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 132.

⁶⁹ Attwood, p. 132.

combination of ‘a high level of citizenship, selflessness, steadfastness, responsibility, and confidence in the correctness of her actions, but... is also suffused with spiritual softness, emotion, and urge to help, to ease, to take care of others, to support.’⁷⁰ These traditionally feminine characteristics once again became traits encouraged for women, which contrasted with the androgynous figure of the Soviet woman that was seen emerging in Bolshevik literature early in the twentieth century. This androgynous woman, who had become too masculine and adopted masculine traits, was not compatible with traditional femininity.⁷¹ The government began to heavily mediate the female image in propaganda during the late Stalin period as this fear emerged.⁷² There was a new concern with beauty and fashion as women were encouraged to ‘preserve... femininity in the face of their harsh “masculine” lives’.⁷³ In the 1930s, the myth that life under Stalin had become better extended into women’s femininity⁷⁴ through propaganda that showed Soviet families obtaining ordinary commodities, and women with very feminine qualities on masculine worksites. This myth will be explored in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* magazines during the Stalin era.

The Stalin era brought a significant change to the economic structure of the Soviet Union. There was a need for the Soviet economy to “catch up” to Western powers through rapid industrialisation as the Soviet Union had been a primarily agricultural economy prior to the 1917 revolution. The New Economic Policy, which had allowed small private businesses to operate, ran until 1928 and then industry in the Soviet Union began to be controlled by the Communist Party.⁷⁵ This change from private to state ownership was designed to create a new, fully socialist economy and created massive reorganisations in the Soviet Union. Catching up to the West was measured in targets, laid out in Five-Year Plans, and forced collectivisation of rural farms and livestock.⁷⁶ Labour shortages made women enter the workforce en masse and 1930 saw 437,000 women begin working in industries followed by another 587,000 women in 1931.⁷⁷ These women flooded into certain industries and were often limited in roles they could take.⁷⁸ The textile industry, for example, had predominantly female workers; however, industries such as mining and metal had very limited opportunities for women.⁷⁹ High quotas

⁷⁰ L. Attwood, ‘The New Soviet Man and Woman – Soviet Views on Psychological Sex Differences’, in B. Holland, (ed.), *Soviet Sisterhood*, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1985, p. 63.

⁷¹ Attwood, *Soviet Sisterhood*, p. 64.

⁷² Attwood, p. 64.

⁷³ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 132.

⁷⁴ Attwood, p. 132.

⁷⁵ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 110.

⁷⁶ Buckley, p. 110.

⁷⁷ W. Goldman, *Women at the Gates: Gender and Industry in Stalin’s Russia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 1.

⁷⁸ Goldman, *Women at the Gates*, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Goldman, p. 16.

were established in the Five-Year Plans for women's employment to fill gaps in industries.⁸⁰ This fuelled a common fear that male roles were at risk, despite the Party's belief that growth of industry would provide new, high-skilled roles for women.⁸¹ The fear for men's job security was countered by presenting women as acquiring new roles and not taking any existing roles from men. The regime believed that as industries expanded, under the Five-Year Plan, women would begin to occupy new, high-skilled roles and not just remain at the lower levels of industries. There were not only deliberate measures taken by the Soviet regime to include women in industry, they were also encouraged into the rural workforce.

Rural peasant women were included in the collective farms of the 1930s, and therefore in the Soviet economy. Party slogans of the time included: 'Without collective farms – inequality. With collective farms – equal rights' and 'only *Kolkhoz* life can obliterate inequality and put women on their feet'.⁸² This was an attempt to present the government overcoming the backwardness and oppression of the peasant women (known as *baba*) in the countryside by involving them in the "progressive" farms. However, rural working women were offered virtually no supportive childcare and had particularly bad government services.⁸³ It was alleged in one collective that women's responsibility as mothers was used as an excuse to keep them out of leadership roles.⁸⁴ As will be seen in chapter two, in *Soviet Woman* and *Soviet Union* magazines, rural women's education, and the success they then brought to collective farms, was always attributed to the Communist system.

Under Stalin these new Soviet women were becoming increasingly contradictory figures. In Soviet magazines, by the end of the 1930s there was no concern about women's spare time being spent on domestic chores.⁸⁵ Instead, they were encouraged to 'develop the full range of traditional female skills'.⁸⁶ Women were encouraged to combine new 'qualities and functions with many of the old norms of female behaviour'.⁸⁷ There was a distinct fear, which would be carried into the Khrushchev era, of the masculinised, androgynous female who did not successfully combine labour with her natural femininity.

Under Stalin, the closed-off Soviet Union's policies towards women had focused on their involvement in industries. Women's involvement in labour was a focal point of policies in the 1930s and 1940s to rapidly grow industries with a new supply of labour.⁸⁸ A fear

⁸⁰ Goldman, *Women at the Gates*, p. 154.

⁸¹ Goldman, p. 154.

⁸² Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 118.

⁸³ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 84.

⁸⁴ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 120.

⁸⁵ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 129.

⁸⁶ Attwood, p. 129.

⁸⁷ Attwood, p. 125.

⁸⁸ Goldman, *Women at the Gates*, p. 21.

emerging during this period was centred on heavy labour masculinising women's bodies.⁸⁹ One Soviet critic of the new Soviet woman was V. I. Nemtsov, who produced articles in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, and was fearful that young women, in particular, were losing their femininity as a result of performing hard labour which was traditionally reserved for men.⁹⁰ Nemtsov was also critical of young women who wanted to hold high-paying "men's" jobs which were 'not natural for them' and in turn they would adopt other bad habits such as 'smoking and even drinking vodka'.⁹¹ The feminisation of specific industries created a more socially acceptable image of women working as it did not appear to be breaking the social construction of femininity.⁹²

Khrushchev's denouncement of Stalin in 1956 affected policies towards Soviet women. Khrushchev's 'thaw' saw an opening up to the outside world intended to create a 'constructive dialogue with Western and developing nations.'⁹³ Under this 'thaw' the international policy of peaceful coexistence emerged and was designed for the Soviet Union to display its success internationally in science, economics and sport.⁹⁴ Khrushchev's new policy of peaceful coexistence influenced the decision to reshape the image of the Soviet people,⁹⁵ as this emphasis on cultural propaganda led to presenting Communism 'with a human face' to the West.⁹⁶ The re-casting of Soviet women as 'chic and feminine' became an intentional political agenda.⁹⁷ This re-casting of women's image was designed to attract the West to Soviet society, and subsequently, Communism.

⁸⁹ Ilić, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 15.

⁹⁰ Ilić, p. 15.

⁹¹ 'A Word about Our Women', *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, no. 37, 1958, 6. (condensed text from *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 10 July 1958), in Ilić, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 15.

⁹² Ilić, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 7.

⁹³ Ilić, p. 19.

⁹⁴ Thompson, *A Vision Unfulfilled*, p. 382.

⁹⁵ P. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*, 3 edn., Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, p. 331.

⁹⁶ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, p. 263.

⁹⁷ Sylvester, *Into the Cosmos*, pp. 206-207.

Soviet Space Achievements

Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence led to displays of cultural superiority to the rest of the world and the development of the space race. This space race took place between the Soviet Union and the United States as they competed to accomplish many varied space firsts, such as launching the first satellite, animal, man, and woman. Space accomplishments were important for international propaganda as these achievements showed the rest of the world the Soviet Union's technological development. Trevor Rockwell argues that the Soviet's space achievements were viewed by the Soviet regime as important 'propaganda vehicles ... for selling the virtues of the socialist system'.⁹⁸ Khrushchev sought to prove the Soviet Union's superior social structure in sophisticated propaganda developed around the space achievements.⁹⁹ The technological progression and capability of the Soviet Union was displayed to the world with the 1957 launching of the first satellite in space, Sputnik.¹⁰⁰ Space achievements would shape a positive view internationally of the Soviet Union, particularly as socialist society was humanised in the first male and female cosmonauts, Yuri Gagarin and Valentina Tereshkova.

The focus on space achievements formed an important identity in Soviet society. Slava Gerovitch argues that space achievements began to erase the terror of the Stalinist period, as they provided a new focus and cornerstone of identity for the Soviet Union.¹⁰¹ Monuments to the space age began to replace Stalinist statues in the Khrushchev era and created a break from the past.¹⁰²

Sputnik's launch created varied responses around the world. One response centred on the fear that this satellite displayed the Soviet Union's ability to create long range missiles.¹⁰³ Another response viewed Sputnik as an embodiment of Khrushchev's promise to surpass the United States in technological progress and general industry.¹⁰⁴ Despite these reactions, the world's first satellite reflected a deep, positive shift in Western public opinion of the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁵ The satellite was seen by many as an important contribution to the progression of humankind and being beyond politics.¹⁰⁶ Sputnik I was followed a mere 30 days later with the

⁹⁸ T. Rockwell, 'Space Propaganda "For All Mankind": Soviet and American Responses to the Cold War, 1957–1977', PhD. thesis, University of Alberta, Ottawa, p. 5.

⁹⁹ A. Wilson, *New Zealand and the Soviet Union 1950-1991: A Brittle Relationship*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2004, p. 25.

¹⁰⁰ Gerovitch, *Osiris*, p. 152.

¹⁰¹ Gerovitch, "'Why Are We Telling Lies?'" The Creation of Soviet Space History Myths', *The Russian Review*, no. 70, no. 3, 2011, pp. 467-468.

¹⁰² Gerovitch, *The Russian Review*, p. 467.

¹⁰³ B. Harvey, *Race into Space: The Soviet Space Programme*, West Sussex, Ellis Horwood Limited, 1988, p. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Harvey, *Race into Space*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁵ Harvey, p. 32.

¹⁰⁶ Harvey, p. 32.

launch of the first animal in space, the dog Laika, on Sputnik II. This contributed to the public's surprise as Sputnik II surpassed the first satellite drastically in weight.¹⁰⁷ The determination of the Soviet Union to be the first nation to place a human in space can be seen in this launching of Laika into space so quickly after the initial satellite.¹⁰⁸

The reconstruction of the Soviet man was part of Khrushchev's agenda to reshape the Western perception of the Soviet people. Yuri Gagarin, the first man in space, was the first Soviet cosmonaut to give 'socialism... a human face' to the world.¹⁰⁹ Gagarin was a non-threatening, attractive and familiar "human face" utilised in Soviet propaganda to make the Soviet Union, and subsequently socialism, appealing. Gagarin was a pivotal figure for the Soviet Union as he embodied the concept of the "new Soviet man". The new Soviet man was supposed to be 'a harmonic combination of rich spirituality, moral purity, and physical perfection.'¹¹⁰ These traits were displayed to the public in press releases and Gagarin's carefully constructed scripts, which emphasised his humble beginnings on a collective farm, the impact of World War II on his family, and his role as a father and husband.¹¹¹ Gagarin was a widely appealing figure both in the Soviet Union and abroad, which influenced a young generation to dream of becoming cosmonauts, including many girls.¹¹² One such girl was Tereshkova, who cited Gagarin as a personal inspiration in her pursuit to become a cosmonaut.¹¹³

As Gagarin has been perceived as the everyday man, Tereshkova can be perceived as the everyday woman. As historian Sue Bridger said, Tereshkova was selected because she was 'Gagarin in a skirt'.¹¹⁴ Like Gagarin, Tereshkova's history embodied many Soviet realities and was utilised in propaganda. Tereshkova was also born on a collective farm in 1937, her mother raised her alone after the father died in World War II, as an adult Tereshkova became a textile worker by day and student by night, and she was an avid parachute jumper.¹¹⁵

Tereshkova became the new face of the "new Soviet woman", just as Gagarin had become the face of the "new Soviet man". The public image of Tereshkova following her space flight accentuated her femininity. The early Russian and Soviet women in aviation tended to

¹⁰⁷ Harvey, *Race into Space*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁸ Harvey, p. 33.

¹⁰⁹ F. Barnard, "*Socialism with a Human Face*": *Slogan and Substance*, Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan, 1973, p. 7.

¹¹⁰ Gerovitch, *Osiris*, p. 135.

¹¹¹ S. Gerovitch, 'Human inside a Propaganda Machine: The Public Image and Professional Identity of Soviet Cosmonauts', in J. Andrews and A. Siddiqi (ed.), *Into the Cosmos: Space Exploration and Soviet Culture*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011, p. 81.

¹¹² Sylvester, *Into the Cosmos*, p. 200.

¹¹³ Sylvester, p. 200.

¹¹⁴ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 225.

¹¹⁵ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 226.

fly in the military, such as the first female military pilot Russian Princess Eugenie Shakhovskaya,¹¹⁶ and there were two World War II Soviet regiments that consisted solely of females: the 587th Women's Bomber Regiment and 588th Women's Night Bomber Regiment.¹¹⁷ In contrast, Western aviatrixes were usually wealthy, upper-class women who took up flying for personal interests and some held glamorous, celebrity statuses. Early Western aviatrixes adopted a very intentionally feminine image, despite utilising androgynous elements. For instance, while aviatrixes used traditionally masculine pants for flying,¹¹⁸ celebrity aviatrixes personally mediated their portrayal in the press through photoshoots and created a glamorous image.¹¹⁹ Tereshkova's image, while glamorous like Western aviatrixes, was controlled not by Tereshkova herself but by the Soviet regime.

Tereshkova's appearance was an important display of propaganda to the West as she had become a 'symbol of Soviet womanhood.'¹²⁰ Tereshkova's image was an important propaganda tool as she was presented as a modern, feminine woman who was relatable to Western women as it broke the stereotype of masculine Soviet women. Although she maintained a military rank, Tereshkova was mostly presented in civilian dress in public appearances.¹²¹ Tereshkova's fashionable, feminine clothes were relatable to the West as she was presented as an ordinary woman, rather than in a masculine military uniform. This recasting of the Soviet woman was an extension of Khrushchev's soft power propaganda that familiarised the Soviet Union on Western terms.

¹¹⁶ R. L. Wilson, *Silk and Steel: Women at Arms*, New York, Random House, 2003, p. 45.

¹¹⁷ Wilson, *Silk and Steel*, p. 50.

¹¹⁸ P. Black, 'Fashion Takes Flight: Amy Johnson, Schiaparelli and Australian Modernism', *Hecate*, vol. 35, no. 1/2, 2009, p. 71.

¹¹⁹ B. Burman, 'Racing Bodies: Dress and Pioneer Women Aviators and Racing Drivers', *Women's History Review*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2000, p. 304.

¹²⁰ M. A. Weitekamp, *Right Stuff, Wrong Sex: America's First Woman in Space Program*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2004, p. 161.

¹²¹ Gerovitch, *The Russian Review*, p. 467.

An anxiety that was expressed in the later Stalin period centred on the de-feminisation of Soviet women through their hard lives under the double burden of work and domestic chores. This de-feminisation of women conflicted with the myth of life improving in the Soviet Union that was generated under Stalin in the 1930s.¹²² This myth was presented in propaganda magazines and the way these magazines showed the availability in goods will be explored further in chapter two in relation to *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman*. The image of masculinised Soviet women was an important influence in the Soviet regime's decision to feminise Tereshkova after her space flight.

¹²² Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 132.

Chapter Two: Women in Soviet Propaganda under Stalin

Women's equality was displayed in propaganda images designed make socialism appealing to women across the world. Magazine articles attributed women's participation in the workforce, and opportunities to study, to a socialist system. Pictures showed Soviet women being integrated into every aspect of Soviet society, including working in industries, science and on collective farms. No longer bound by a patriarchal society, women were portrayed as equals of men and therefore able to achieve their goals to work in their desired fields. Both articles and pictures in the magazines emphasised that Soviet women had achieved equality and are active participates of society.

In the early 1930s, the cult of Stalin constructed the myth that life was being vastly improved under Soviet socialism. This myth was centred on showing that the Soviet Union had a higher form of consumer culture that originated from socialism and not bourgeois principles. Widely available luxury goods would display that life had become better under socialism.

In this period, the "new Soviet woman" became an increasingly contradictory figure.¹ Women's roles changed as expectations and culture shifted drastically in society. The government now expected women to be successful workers, mothers of large families, and political participants; all of which were impossible to fulfil simultaneously. The cultural shifts revolved mainly around women's appearance. Propaganda encouraged women to be feminine and discouraged an image of a masculine woman. Women were expected to perform heavy, manual labour while retaining traditionally feminine features as a fear of women becoming androgynous spread.

In propaganda, traditional gender roles were both undermined and encouraged. Women were simultaneously being told to work in different industries, whilst motherhood was honoured and promoted with medals and awards. Women were being encouraged to produce large numbers of children, which they rarely did, while simultaneously being shuffled into the workforce. This tension between women's role as mother and worker was carried into the Khrushchev era, as motherhood was always promoted by the regime as an important theme alongside women's equality. The Party's mediation of the Soviet women's image was also a trend between the 1930s and 1960s.

¹ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet*, p. 126.

Rural Women

Many articles in *Soviet Union* concentrate on the Bolshevik revolution's emancipation of rural women from a patriarchal society. Rural women were reported to have all rights denied and were 'subjected to the most cruel exploitation' prior to the 1917 revolution.² This article emphasises that the Bolshevik revolution, and the Communist system that followed, enabled rural women to overcome an oppressive patriarchal system. A skewed image of rural women's options in the Soviet Union is shown here as women were shown as equal participants in the economy. However, as Richard Sakwa highlights, the mere declaration of women's equality failed to address the deep, cultural levels of oppression that rural women faced in society. Rather than addressing these issues, the Party had simply announced that equality had been obtained for women and therefore, the "woman question" was solved.³ *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* magazines frequently contained stories of ordinary, rural Soviet women achieving their dreams of studying and working in their chosen industry, thanks to the Communist system.⁴ The opportunities women were given in the Soviet system were frequently focused on in propaganda and displayed women's widespread equality across the Soviet Union to the reader.

Soviet Union is very direct in presenting rural women's equality in Soviet society. One article states that: 'Soviet power gave women equal rights with men in all fields of state, economic culture, social and political life.'⁵ This propaganda theme of women having equal rights in all areas of Soviet society is repeated in many articles;⁶ however, in reality it was not fully realised as women were frequently restricted to low-skilled jobs and often did not receive equal pay.⁷ An article from 1951 narrated the birth of a girl to a poor Armenian family in Tsarist

² Batyrmuraev, 'An Equal Among Equals', *Soviet Union*, vol. 9, 1950, p. 22.

³ R. Sakwa, *Soviet Politics in Perspective*, New York, Routledge, 1998, p. 198.

⁴ Nektarova, 'From Kolkhoz Field to Research Laboratory', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, 1950, pp. 24-25; Batyrmuraev, 'An Equal among Equals', *Soviet Union*, vol. 9, 1950, pp. 16-23: This article accounts for 4,300 women in specialising in teaching, medicine and industrial and agriculture. It also states that there are 1,500 mountain women enrolled in specialty schools and higher education.

⁵ Batyrmuraev, 'An Equal Among Equals', *Soviet Union*, vol. 9, 1950, p. 22. For equal rights of women in *Soviet Union* articles see also: A. Garanin, *Soviet Union*, vol. 13, 1951, Front Cover.

⁶ See also: E. Kononenko, 'Ten Years Later', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, 1950, pp. 32-37; O. Mitchell and J. Tunstall, 'Our Guests', *Soviet Union*, vol. 6, no. 40, 1953, pp. 20-23; V. Gerasimova, 'Soviet Women', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 13, 1951, pp. 5-10; E. Shevelyova, 'What Women Say: Happiness', *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 85, 1957, pp. 18-19.

⁷ Filtzer, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 30.



Figure 1. N.A., *Soviet Union*, no. 1, 1950, p. 35.

Russia. The father was said to be ‘in despair’ as there was only a sad ‘fate awaiting the infant’.⁸ However, soon the Bolshevik revolution arrived and the social transformations to rural areas gave this girl, Arsha Ovanesova, the opportunity to obtain an education and she chose to become a film director.⁹ Ovanesova was reported to receive the same opportunities as if she were born a boy as society in the Soviet Union was no longer restricted by old customs. The article emphasises that these old, gendered customs, such as fearing the birth of a girl, no longer exist as women could be as successful as men.

Rural women’s achievements were often tied with agricultural improvements in *Soviet Union* articles in the early 1950s. These achievements were presented as a mastery of nature and drastically improving life in the countryside. One article discusses the creation of a new, experimental breed of white goats, which replaced an old breed with poor wool and little milk.¹⁰ The woman who created these goats, depicted in figure 1 alongside the new breed, left her local area to study but returned with this new breed to improve life for her homeland’s farmers.¹¹ In figure 1 she is depicted in traditional dress on a farm, not in a lab with a white coat. This article does not dwell on this woman’s leaving her home village to study, but it emphasises her desire to return and improve the lives of her people. Rather than being an individual this woman is presented as focusing on the collective, another significant aspect of *Soviet Union* propaganda in the Stalin era. This article also displays the inclusion of different ethnicities as propaganda

⁸ V. Grebnyov, ‘Soviet Armenia’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 7, no. 17, 1951, p. 24.

⁹ V. Grebnyov, ‘Soviet Armenia’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 7, no. 17, 1951, p. 24.

¹⁰ N.A., ‘In the Altai Highlands’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 1, 1950, p. 35.

¹¹ N.A., ‘In the Altai Highlands’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 1, 1950, p. 35.



Figure 2. Photo by: V. Shakhovskoi in I. Nektarova, 'From Kolkhoz Field to Research Laboratory', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, 1950, p. 25.



Figure 3. Photo by: V. Shakhovskoi in I. Nektarova, 'From Kolkhoz Field to Research Laboratory', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, 1950, p. 25.

also conveyed ethnic equality.

The Communist Party addressed the deeper level of inequality in the countryside by presenting collective farms overcoming engrained societal issues in propaganda. Women's resistance in the early months of forced collectivisation influenced their inclusion into collective farms by the government.¹² Mary Buckley argues women were encouraged to work 'all year round rather than in concentrated bursts according to season' and they were encouraged to raise their 'level of skills and use machinery.'¹³ Soviet women, according to propaganda, could be trained for collective farms as many already seasonal or low-skilled workers. By the end of 1936, around 90 per cent of peasants were living on collective farms.¹⁴

Soviet Union and *Soviet Woman* frequently featured articles on women and "shock workers" in these collective farms. Shock workers were various people who exceeded their targets set in the Five-Year Plans to excessive levels and were elevated as examples for other workers to aspire too. During 1950 a *Soviet Union* article showed several women from a collective farm in the beet growing district, who after achieving spectacular harvests were acknowledged by Stalin and other Communist Party and Government leaders. One of these women, Marina Gnatenko, the collective farm leader, had previously pledged to Stalin that her team would raise 500 centners of sugar beets per hectare.¹⁵ Gnatenko had achieved this target

¹² M. Ilić, 'Traktoristka: Representations and Realities', in M. Ilić (ed.), *Women in the Stalin Era*, New York, Palgrave, 2001, p. 111.

¹³ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 118.

¹⁴ Buckley, p. 110.

¹⁵ I. Nektarova, 'From Kolkhoz Field to Research Laboratory', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, 1950, p. 25.

by studying in a laboratory and then working intensively to implement her new knowledge to the farm's fields.¹⁶ Figures 2 and 3 displays to the reader the steps that Gnatenko took by showing her in a scientific setting and then returning to her collective farm. These pictures also draw a clear link between scientific progression and the mastery of nature. While celebrating the success of the sugar beet collective farm, Stalin is reported to have said: 'only collective-farm life could make labour a matter of honour, could bring forth true heroines among the women and in the countryside. Only collective-farm life could wipe out inequality and make women independent.'¹⁷ Here, Stalin was reinforcing the equal opportunities for rural women on collective farms and their ability to succeed in a chosen field. Women in propaganda were examples for others to follow and displayed the success that communism enabled them to achieve. An article from 1952 reported on a Ukrainian peasant woman, Stepanida Vishtak, from the Molotov Collective Farm in Kiev being presented with her second Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal award for record harvests.¹⁸ Vishtak's hard work was even reported to be honoured with a bronze bust that was being erected in her home village.¹⁹ The rewards that these shock workers were given were supposed to be motivation for others to follow their example and excel in their chosen field, either rural or industrial.

¹⁶ I. Nektarova, 'From Kolkhoz Field to Research Laboratory', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, 1950, p. 25.

¹⁷ I. Nektarova, 'From Kolkhoz Field to Research Laboratory', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, 1950, p. 25.

¹⁸ N.A., 'A Commentator's Note: And Inspiring Program', *Soviet Union*, vol. 9, no. 31, 1952, p. 3.

¹⁹ N.A., 'A Commentator's Note: And Inspiring Program', *Soviet Union*, vol. 9, no. 31, 1952, p. 3.

Women in Industry

Women's inclusion in industries and the equal opportunities provided under Communism was often emphasised in propaganda articles in *Soviet Union* during the Stalin era. One such opportunity was equal gender pay across industries, which was a policy originating from early Bolshevik ideology as it was seen as a crucial way to emancipate women.²⁰ Numerous articles in *Soviet Union* accounted for women being provided equal pay to men who worked in the same field.²¹ In one article, a male and female tuner who were of equal skill were paid equally and on the day of the report the woman beat her counterpart in production, so she earned more than him.²² However, this was not actually a widespread reality as women were often channelled into lower paying sectors.²³ Women's ability to work in industries was stressed in propaganda. An article emphasises that in 'every corner of the Soviet Union women's gifts and talents, cultivated under the Socialist system, are displaying themselves to the full.'²⁴

Shock workers were displayed in propaganda to motivate other workers. Emotive language was frequently used when articles talked about the production of industry and the achievements of shock workers. One such shock worker was a weaver who exclaimed that she wanted to work quickly as she found it 'dull' and 'uninteresting to work slowly'.²⁵ She goes on to say that 'we are the masters of our factories, of our land and I want to work to bring as much benefit as possible to my Soviet Homeland.'²⁶ This shows how shock workers were used to exhibit how much they love their work and wanted to help better the Soviet Union to motivate others. In another article, a worker says how she wanted express her gratitude 'to my Homeland for all that it has done for me, a plain worker' through 'working in a way that will

²⁰ Buckley, *Soviet Sisterhood*, p. 34.

²¹ See: E. Kononenko, 'Ten Years Later', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, 1950, p. 35; S. Myshkov, 'Factory Trade Union Committee', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, no. 12, 1951, p. 13; M. Ovsyannikova, 'The Women of our Country', *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 25, 1952, p. 10; C. Leech, 'No Evidence of "Iron Curtain"', *Soviet Union*, vol. 10, no. 32, 1952, p. 34.

²² S. Myshkov, 'Factory Trade Union Committee', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, no. 12, 1951, p. 13.

²³ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 2.

²⁴ V. Gerasimova, 'Soviet Women', *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 13, 1951, pp. 10-15.

²⁵ B. Mylnikov, 'Makers of Fine Fabrics', *Soviet Union*, vol. 10, no. 20, 1951, p. 29.

²⁶ B. Mylnikov, 'Makers of Fine Fabrics', *Soviet Union*, vol. 10, no. 20, 1951, p. 29.



Figure 4. N.A., *Soviet Union*, no. 38, vol. 4, 1953, p. 34.

help us to reach Communism as quickly as possible.²⁷ She then goes on to explain that she has completed her five-year quota five times over and directly attributes her ability to exceed these goals by not working for a capitalist system and corporation but by working ‘for oneself, for one’s people.’²⁸ This woman attributes what appears to be her personal achievement to the Soviet Union’s economy and social structure. Articles also focused on the workers’ desire to produce, rather than their desire to consume the products they were creating. Groups of women shock workers would also pledge to increase their output to Stalin. One such women’s group was from the Shcherbakov silk factory, seen in figure 4 huddled up discussing their team output beneath a picture of Stalin. Pictures such as this one implied a high level of production was obtainable for everyone and displayed a woman’s role and responsibility in industry. These articles show women who were excelling in their professions, such as cutters, welders, administration staff, and doctors. However, usually the only time women who were not meeting their targets or expectations are mentioned is when shock workers were assisting them in raising their performance.²⁹ This supports Buckley’s idea that Soviet magazines focused on

²⁷ P. B. Bykov, ‘Twenty-Five Annual Work Quotas in Five Years’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 1, no. 11, 1951, p. 11.

²⁸ P. B. Bykov, ‘Twenty-Five Annual Work Quotas in Five Years’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 1, no. 11, 1951, p. 11.

²⁹ See: V. Yegorunin, ‘Yelena’s Mail: Why People Write to Young Minsk Weaver’, *Soviet Union*, no. 160, June 1963, pp. 32-33.

women's involvement in industry and their role in production, rather than the struggles that they faced in these work environments.³⁰

Issues of inequality were present on collective farms. This was despite the Party's attempts to use collective farms to overcome women's oppression experienced in the countryside. As was seen in chapter one, women's involvement in leadership on collective farms was sometimes resisted, citing a woman's responsibility for taking care of children.³¹ Despite specialised training, women were also excluded from certain roles on collective farms, such as tractor driving. In *Soviet Union*, a large number of female tractor drivers were presented as being trained and working on collective farms. An article on the famous tractor driver, Pasha Angelina, told the story of her rise to become a celebrated shock worker.³² Angelina, who grew up in poverty in the 1930s, had a collective farm organised in her area where she became fascinated with tractors and decided to become a specialised tractor driver.³³ She told the story of what happened following her training:

Many of my fellow-villagers were quite sceptical, for they had never seen or even heard of a woman drive a tractor before. So it took me three years to organize a woman's tractor brigade, but not long after that there were ten such brigades in the region. I remember that in 1938 Pasha Kovardak, a tractor driver from the Kuban, and I launched the following nationwide appeal through our press: 'One hundred thousand women tractor drivers wanted!' Two hundred thousand women answered our call. There were many among them who later became famous and known to the whole country for their exemplary work.³⁴

However, despite this reported increase in female tractor drivers, historian Buckley reports that many women who were trained as tractor drivers actually very rarely acquired jobs.³⁵ Articles, such as this one, which claimed a huge involvement of women in specialised industries they were previously excluded from, were merely used for propaganda and to encourage women into these fields.

Propaganda articles about collective farm workers would often depict females for two reasons. Firstly, it was important for rural women to have female role models to aspire to. Secondly, as Buckley highlights, the female body has been traditionally related to nature and land,³⁶ stemming from the traditional pagan figure of mother nature and relating to the *baba*,

³⁰ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 113.

³¹ Buckley, p. 120.

³² Ilić, *Women in the Stalin Era*, p. 110.

³³ P. Angelina, 'Steering a Tractor', *Soviet Union*, vol. 9, no. 67, 1955, p. 28.

³⁴ P. Angelina, 'Steering a Tractor', *Soviet Union*, vol. 9, no. 67, 1955, p. 28.

³⁵ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 120.

³⁶ Buckley, p. 94.

or backwards peasant woman. Buckley believes that the female body was personified in Stalinist collectivisation.³⁷ This is due to the connection between women and nature; however, in collective farms women were changed from the figure of the *baba* to a fellow comrade who would contribute to the creation of a new, Soviet socialist society.

³⁷ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 94.

The Androgynous Woman's Image

Women were perceived as more backward than men in the Soviet era, due to the stereotype of women implicit in religion and superstition.³⁸ In the 1930s, there were attempts to bring backward women into the modern era through consumption of cosmetic and hygiene products driven by propaganda encouraging women to embrace traditional feminine beauty and consumption,³⁹ which would counter the masculinisation of their bodies due to heavy labour.⁴⁰ There was a 'revival of romantic notions about women's domestic roles' which was 'reflected in ideas about beauty and fashion.'⁴¹ Propaganda attempts to make women appear more feminine was also linked to the myth that life had become better under Stalin.⁴²

Stalin's cult of personality was embedded in international propaganda in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* throughout the 1950s. Buckley documents the rise of "Thank you Stalin" in articles and women's magazines in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴³ This has already been seen in this thesis with Stalin's encouragement of Gnatenko, the beets collective farm worker, to study; the article reported Gnatenko 'often recalled these words' as 'study became Marina's most cherished dream.'⁴⁴ This furthered the Stalinist cult of personality, as Stalin was portrayed as the direct cause of Gnatenko's following success as he had instructed her to better herself. This type of propaganda was also a form of encouragement for women to strive to study and advance themselves for their nation. Other articles described the popularity of Stalin and a general celebration of life. A *Soviet Union* article from 1951 stated there was a 'vital interest which the Soviet people take in the further development of their country's economy and in peaceful construction illustrated in the numerous letters they address to Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.'⁴⁵ Claims of excessive happiness and unanimous support expressed in articles such as these, were untouched with reality.⁴⁶

There was focus on women as consumers in the Stalinist years in the *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman*. Following World War I, there was an emphasis on production, expanding the economy and increased consumption in society. In the late 1930s, working women's wages made commodities affordable and led to higher demands for products such as cosmetics and

³⁸ Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade*, p. 5.

³⁹ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 130.

⁴⁰ Attwood, *Soviet Sisterhood*, p. 64.

⁴¹ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 130.

⁴² Attwood, pp. 131-132.

⁴³ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 122.

⁴⁴ I. Nektarova, 'From Kolkhoz Field to Research Laboratory', *Soviet Union*, no. 4, 1950, p. 24.

⁴⁵ V. Kosolapov, 'The Day-to-Day Work of the Soviet People', *Soviet Union*, vol. 6, no. 16, 1951, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, p. 123.

clothes.⁴⁷ During World War II there was a strong break with consumption as selfish connotations became attached to consumerism.⁴⁸ Following the end of rationing there was a shift towards developing consumer goods and creating a higher level of comfort in Soviet life. This consumption was supposed to show a high standard of living in the Soviet Union, comparable to the West, that was not based on the exploitative capitalist system of the bourgeoisie.⁴⁹ In 1953, a *Soviet Union* article reported many new shops enabling higher sales of luxury goods such as motorcycles, television sets, and refrigerators.⁵⁰ Soviet citizens' consumption was reported to having been enabled by wages increasing with economic growth.⁵¹ Cosmetic products were attributed to the development of a higher culture in the Soviet Union and their use was encouraged by the Party. However, these propaganda accounts of consumerism were out of touch with the reality of consumers plagued with long queues for luxury goods that were in short supply in the Stalin era.

In the Stalin era consumption was always linked to production and the development of Soviet society, not the experience of the consumer. For example, an article declared that cosmetics, perfumes and soap produced in the Soviet Union came from 'dozens of large and up-to-date plants' built in the Five-Year Plans under Stalin and even the older plants 'have been so thoroughly modernized and enlarged that they bear not the slightest resemblance to the primitive factories inherited from pre-revolutionary Russia.'⁵² The quality of the factories is emphasised and linked to the rapid growth the Soviets brought in the industrial development of the economy and their attempts to create a modern image of the Soviet Union.

In Marxist ideology, a socialist system would create a high level of consumption and develop a higher standard of living than capitalism. In the late Stalin era, consumption was heavily linked to beauty and personal appearance and this became an important aspect of Soviet propaganda.⁵³ Therefore, the concern for femininity, according to historian Michael David-Fox, can be linked to 'Stalin's insistence that "life has become better and more cheerful"'.⁵⁴ Consumption was linked to women's physical appearance and keeping it traditionally feminine. The everyday routines of beauty and maternity in the Soviet Union cannot be seen uniformly across all women.⁵⁵ There would have been variation between beauty standards in

⁴⁷ P. Hetherington, 'Dressing the Shop Window of Socialism: Gender and Consumption in the Soviet Union in the Era of "Cultural Trade", 1934-53', *Gender and History*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2015, pp. 421-422.

⁴⁸ Hetherington, *Gender and History*, p. 434.

⁴⁹ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 132.

⁵⁰ O. Sursky, 'Minsk Universal Stores', *Soviet Union*, vol. 5, no. 39, 1953, p. 16.

⁵¹ O. Sursky, 'Minsk Universal Stores', *Soviet Union*, vol. 5, no. 39, 1953, p. 16.

⁵² N.A., 'Reply to a Reader in Italy', *Soviet Union*, vol. 5, no. 39, 1953, pp. 28-29.

⁵³ Hetherington, *Gender and History*, p. 426.

⁵⁴ M. David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921-1941*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 132.

⁵⁵ Gradszkova, 'Soviet People with Female Bodies', p. 27.

different nationalities and ethnic groups in the Soviet Union as ‘Soviet women employed different everyday tactics to negotiate the complex landscape of maternity and beauty’.⁵⁶ Attwood’s analysis of two women’s Soviet magazines, *Krest’yanka* (The Peasant Woman) and *Rabotnitsa* (The Woman Worker), found that the “‘new Soviet woman’ was defined as much by her feminine appearance as by her capacity to work and fight like a man.”⁵⁷ Soviet women were expected to not only participate as equal members of society but to also retain aspects of their femininity. Therefore, consumption to aid feminine beauty was encouraged by the Soviet regime.⁵⁸ This feminine beauty was, as David-Fox says, a ‘conventional understanding of beauty’ that was a return to more romantic notion of female consumption and fashion.⁵⁹ Examples of women that did not fit into conventional beauty standards were used as warnings to Soviet women. One story published in both *Krest’yanka* and *Rabotnitsa* gave an account of the author’s experience with a female president of a collective farm. He was expecting ‘a simple country woman in a long wide skirt, a blouse with gathered sleeves, a blue headscarf on the head, and a shy and modest manner.’⁶⁰ However, the woman he encounters is described as having a wide stride, ‘like a man’s’, and speaking with a ‘deep, throaty voice’ that was ‘in an intentionally masculine manner’.⁶¹ David-Fox suggests this author clearly believes this is not the correct image of the new Soviet woman.⁶² Rather, this is an embodiment of the fear of the masculinised woman who is disconnected with her femininity, and a warning to other Soviet women.

Throughout the Stalin era, *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* presented an increasingly contradictory figure of the ideal Soviet women as this image was mediated and reconstructed. The Soviet woman was a changing figure who was re-feminised despite being included in the workforce. Women were encouraged from the private sphere of the home into the public sphere of the workforce. This anxiety over women’s femininity became a primary concern in the later Stalin era as there was a push for the consumption of cosmetics and hygiene products which was presented as the development of a deeper Soviet culture. Throughout this changing period, women were consistently represented as mothers in Soviet propaganda.

⁵⁶ Gradskova, ‘Soviet People with Female Bodies’, p. 27.

⁵⁷ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 134.

⁵⁸ Hetherington, *Gender and History*, p. 426.

⁵⁹ David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment*, p. 130.

⁶⁰ David-Fox, pp. 131-132.

⁶¹ David-Fox, p. 132.

⁶² David-Fox, p. 132.

The Image of Women's Private Lives in Propaganda

Women were encouraged towards traditional gender roles in the Stalin era. The roles of men as workers and women as domestic carers were promoted under the *obshchestvennitsy* movement in 1939.⁶³ This movement encouraged all women to 'try to create at home for their husbands all of the conditions for fruitful work and culture relaxation'.⁶⁴ *Obshchestvennitsy* displayed 'elite' wives in a "housewife" role who provided a comfortable setting for their husbands.⁶⁵ This emphasised a traditional subordination of women to men.⁶⁶ The *obshchestvennitsa* movement was used to discourage the image of the "backward" wife who was undermining the work of her husband who was in a specialist industrial role.⁶⁷ Women were encouraged to support their husbands though keeping busy with household chores.⁶⁸ Despite the encouragement for women's inclusion in the public sphere by the Soviet regime, the emphasis on women's role in the home and their responsibility as mothers shows one of the central contradictions in their gender policies.⁶⁹ Women were simultaneously encouraged to be housewives and take care of their husbands while, contradictorily, they were being encouraged to be involved in the economy. Although the Bolsheviks did initially intend for domestic work to be transferred from the private to the public sphere, in the Stalin era this theoretical idea had not been realised and the domestic sphere still very much remained a part of a female's "natural duty".⁷⁰

In a *Soviet Union* article from 1952, a Soviet housewife described her daily life to an Australian housewife. The Soviet housewife conveyed she was an 'active participant in life' as she 'devotes much of my activity to my family' but still had time to pay attention to world affairs and politics by listening to the radio.⁷¹ Here, the Soviet housewife is highlighting two key issues that the Soviet regime had with women. First, it emphasises her role in taking care of her husband and children, which wives of men in specialist industries were encouraged to do under *obshchestvennitsy* movement. Second, it shows the housewife's involvement and interest in politics, which Soviet women usually lacked the time for. Simultaneously, there is a promotion of women's involvement in politics and a woman's role as a mother.

⁶³ T. G. Schrand, 'Socialism in One Gender: Masculine Values in the Stalin Revolution', in B. E. Clement, R. Friedman and D. Healey (ed.), *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*, Hampshire; New York, Palgrave, 2002, p. 201.

⁶⁴ Schrand, *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*, p. 201.

⁶⁵ Schrand, p. 202.

⁶⁶ Schrand, p. 202.

⁶⁷ Schrand, p. 202.

⁶⁸ Schrand, p. 202.

⁶⁹ Ashwin, *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, p. 11.

⁷⁰ Ashwin, p. 11.

⁷¹ M. I. Tolmachova, 'Reply to an Australian Housewife', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, no. 24, 1952, pp. 22-26.

A continual trend in the Stalin era and beyond was the importance placed on motherhood. Motherhood's importance in Russian and Soviet culture stretches back to the pre-revolutionary peasantry, which elevated the idea of the land being both Mother Earth and Mother Russia, and the interest in these two mothers in pre-revolutionary thought, art and literature by the nineteenth century intelligentsia.⁷² This theme of motherhood became a significant aspect of Soviet society in the Stalin era. The language used to describe motherhood in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* displays the importance the government placed on it. Emotive statements such as: 'motherhood is crowned with a halo of glory',⁷³ and 'our Soviet women remain devoted mothers. The sacred state of motherhood is honoured and respected among the Soviet people', reflected the importance motherhood held in Soviet culture.⁷⁴ These statements express the turn towards traditional femininity and motherhood that occurred in the mid-1930s.⁷⁵ Janet Evans links this change to traditional views of motherhood to the limited gender theory in Marxism.⁷⁶ As was explored in chapter one, there was a tendency to rely on Engels' economic theory of gender oppression,⁷⁷ which Heather Brown believes enabled a combination of traditional views of motherhood and domesticity to be incorporated into the Bolshevik ideology.⁷⁸

Articles in *Soviet Union* were concerned with motherhood as women were raising and influencing the future generations of Soviet workers. The Soviet regime understood the importance of mothers from as early as the 1917 revolution. There were attempts to include women and mothers in politics in the lead-up to the revolution as the Bolsheviks needed women to raise the next generation of Soviets to support the new regime.⁷⁹ Cynthia Hooper carries this theory into the Stalin era as she argues that the regime viewed the private sphere as 'a key site of potential political corruption... that must be repeatedly tested'.⁸⁰ The Soviet regime understood that the generational values passed down through the family meant that women needed to be influenced. Therefore, Soviet propaganda magazines are seen prompting women to raise their children in line with Soviet political ideology. Articles in propaganda magazines tried to influence women to raise children with specific qualities: 'patriotism, devotion,

⁷² J. Hubbs, *Mother Russia: The Feminine Myth in Russian Culture*, Boulder, NetLibrary, Inc., 1999, pp. xiii, xv.

⁷³ V. Gerasimova, 'Soviet Women', *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 13, 1951, p. 11.

⁷⁴ L. Grechishnikova, 'Care for Mother and Child', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, no. 26, 1952, p. 18.

⁷⁵ J. Evans, 'The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Woman's Question: The Case of the 1936 Decree "In Defence of Mother and Child"', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 16, no. 4, 1981, p. 761.

⁷⁶ Evans, *Journal of Contemporary History*, p. 766.

⁷⁷ Evans, p. 766.

⁷⁸ Brown, *Marx on Gender and the Family*, p. 211.

⁷⁹ Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade*, p. 3.

⁸⁰ C. Hooper, 'Terror of Intimacy: Family Politics in the 1930s Soviet Union', in C. Kiaer and E. Naiman (ed.), *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside*, Bloomington; Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2006, p. 65.

truthfulness, and perseverance.⁸¹ Similarly, sweeping statements by women were designed to influence other mothers. In 1951, one mother said: 'It is with a sense of responsibility and legitimate patriotic pride that Soviet women perform their maternal duties; they bring up their children in the spirit of Socialist consciousness and selfless devotion to our Motherland.'⁸² These sweeping statements, which were inclusive of all Soviet mothers, were propaganda designed to show the responsibility that mothers held.

Not only was the way the mothers raised children a target of propaganda, but so were the numbers of children women chose to have. Motherhood was directly encouraged by the Soviet regime and medals were given to women who had many children. Awards were given to mothers who had brought up their own children, and if all of the children survived until the youngest child turned one.⁸³ The recipients of these medals were frequently mentioned in *Soviet Union* during the 1950s.⁸⁴ An article from 1951 stated that more 'than 3,000,000 mothers have been awarded the Glory of Motherhood Order and the Motherhood Medal; 33,000 Soviet women proudly wear on their breasts the gold Mother Heroine star.'⁸⁵ By 1952, the number of women with the Glory of Motherhood Order and the Motherhood Medal had increased to over 3,500,000 and the number of women who had received the Mother Heroine had risen to over 35,000.⁸⁶ These medals for mothers supported traditional expectations that it was the woman's duty to raise children because, as Attwood points out, there were no awards for fathers.⁸⁷ Mothers in *Soviet Union* articles are placed clearly in the forefront of the public propaganda showing the concern the Party had with birth rates.

After the significant loss of men in World War II, growing importance was placed on women to produce more children to replenish the imbalance in the population.⁸⁸ Melanie Ilić argues that a woman having a child outside of marriage was more widely accepted during this period as young women had a low chance of finding a husband.⁸⁹ State welfare was also made available to women with over four children and some financial assistance was given to single mothers.⁹⁰ *Soviet Union* regularly included articles to show the financial aid used to support these women.⁹¹ Propaganda emphasised the duty of women widowed after World War II to

⁸¹ M. I. Tolmachova, 'Reply to an Australian Housewife,' *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, no. 24, 1952, p. 25.

⁸² V. Gerasimova, 'Soviet Women,' *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 13, 1951, p. 11.

⁸³ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 147.

⁸⁴ A. Karavayeva, 'The Glory of Motherhood', *Soviet Union*, vol. 5, 1950, p. 25.

⁸⁵ V. Gerasimova, 'Soviet Women', *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 13, 1951, p. 11.

⁸⁶ L. Grechishnikova, 'Care for Mother and Child', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, no. 26, 1952, p. 18.

⁸⁷ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 147.

⁸⁸ Ilić, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 6.

⁸⁹ Ilić, p. 6.

⁹⁰ Ilić, p. 6.

⁹¹ See: A. Karavayeva, 'The Glory of Motherhood', *Soviet Union*, vol. 5, 1950, p. 25; M. I. Tolmachova, 'Reply to an Australian Housewife', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, no. 24, 1952, pp. 22-26; L. Grechishnikova, 'Care for Mother and Child', *Soviet Union*, vol. 4, no. 26, 1952, pp. 18-19.

raise children alongside working fulltime. Propaganda stories in magazines showed women embracing and succeeding in this double-burdened life. One such story is that of widow Anastasia Burova, whose husband died in World War II, and who attributed her survival and success in raising her four children to her workplace, her neighbours, and the government.⁹² She states that she was not left 'to bear the burden alone.'⁹³ Rather, her children were fed, washed, and looked after by the local kindergarten while she was at work.⁹⁴ This display of government services showed that women could still have children without the support of a man.

⁹² M. Dolgoplova, 'A Widow's Story', *Soviet Union*, vol. 8, no. 90, 1957, p. 31.

⁹³ M. Dolgoplova, 'A Widow's Story', *Soviet Union*, vol. 8, no. 90, 1957, p. 29.

⁹⁴ M. Dolgoplova, 'A Widow's Story', *Soviet Union*, vol. 8, no. 90, 1957, p. 29.

Women's roles in the public and private sphere were of great concern to the Stalinist regime. There was a propaganda effort to include women in the public spheres of industry and on collective farms. Women's lives in the private sphere of the home were also influenced. They were encouraged to influence positive traits in their children, have large numbers of children, and be supportive wives. In the 1930s, the new "everyday culture", *novi byt*, encouraged women to embrace feminine aspects of themselves and not to allow their masculine work to affect their bodies. Shock workers in propaganda were used to encourage everyday women in industries to work harder and strive to exceed their strenuous targets. In this period, there was increasing confusion over the role of the "new Soviet woman" as she was expected to perform domestic duties, remain the primary caregiver, be an exceptional worker, and be politically involved, which was an impossible feat. Propaganda encouraged women to find the perfect tension between the private "feminine" sphere and public "masculine" sphere as the fear of the androgynous woman emerged.

Chapter Three: Women in Soviet Propaganda under Khrushchev

Following Khrushchev's denouncement of Stalin in 1956, a change in Soviet foreign policy opened up the Soviet Union to the rest of the world. This policy of "peaceful coexistence" shaped foreign relations and subsequently influenced Soviet propaganda. Peaceful coexistence opened the Soviet Union to the world through exchanges and comparisons in cultural and scientific achievements.¹ To make the Soviet regime appealing to the West, the Soviet woman's image was constructed aligned with familiar Western standards of traditional femininity. Soviet women were depicted using luxury domestic products and feminine items rather than being portrayed at work and as female shock workers. The Khrushchev regime became focused on demonstrating the cultural superiority of Soviet society by "catching up" and overtaking Western nations' production of consumer goods. Consequently, propaganda in this era was filled with examples of domestic commodities and luxury goods that were accessible to everyday citizens. This propaganda was an unrealistic depiction of shops as they were often plagued with shortages of consumer goods.² Propaganda fashion articles showed that Soviet women desired to look good no matter where they were and stressed traditional femininity.

In the Stalin era women had been viewed as producers either in the economy or the family. Women who displayed excellent work ethics or had large families were celebrated in magazines and used as examples for others to follow. The construction of female beauty was 'that it was an inner quality, not related to outward physical appearance'.³ In the Khrushchev era propaganda began encouraging women to be feminine in articles on hair, fashion, and consumer goods in magazines. However, the Khrushchev regime continued to fail to readdress the "woman question" as it had been officially "solved" in the early Stalin era.⁴

In the early Khrushchev period there was a strong disenchantment with the Stalin era. Stalin's cult of personality was replaced by returning to traditional Leninist principles in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* propaganda articles. These Leninist principles refer to the speeches and original ideologies of the 1917 revolution. Leninist ideology emerged in propaganda simultaneously as references to Stalin disappeared. Several articles attribute the policy of "peaceful coexistence" as a Leninist principle,⁵ as did Khrushchev when he said: 'Soviet

¹ Thompson, *A Vision Unfulfilled*, p. 390.

² D. Bartlett, 'Let Them Wear Beige: The Petit-Bourgeois World of Official Socialist Dress', *Fashion Theory*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2004, p. 129.

³ Ilić, *Competition in Socialist Society*, p. 167.

⁴ Buckley, *Woman and Ideology*, p. 146.

⁵ N. S. Khrushchev, 'Exerts from report "The Present International Situation and Soviet Foreign Policy" at the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 1, 1963, p. 1; V. P. Dyachenko, 'Communism and Peace', *Soviet Union*, no. 159, 1963, p. 17.

foreign policy... is distinguished by continuity: it has always been, it is and it will continue to be, the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.’⁶ This foreign policy was a clear break with the international isolation of the Soviet Union under Stalin.⁷ The newly opened Soviet Union would be made appealing to the West by impressive cultural and scientific displays. Cultural, scientific and educational exchanges began occurring with the rest of the world by 1959.⁸ This openness generated new competition beyond sport and science, as it went into the kitchen. The “kitchen” race created a comparison of consumer goods between the Soviet Union and the United States.

⁶ V. P. Dyachenko, ‘Communism and Peace’, *Soviet Union*, no. 159, 1963, p. 17.

⁷ Thompson, *A Vision Unfulfilled*, p. 390.

⁸ Thompson, p. 390.

Continuing Stalinist Images of Women

Under Khrushchev, motherhood continued to be promoted in propaganda as women were encouraged to place the family before their roles as workers. State support remained inadequate as women were still responsible for the domestic sphere while working. Motherhood was promoted as a woman's primary concern and its important role in society was emphasised. An example of this, seen in *Soviet Union* is an account of a reporter interviewing Alla Masevich, a female astronomer and astrophysicist, who was involved in the launching of Sputnik. Towards the end of the interview Masevich said she wanted to show the interviewer some photos, and he assumed that it would be recent pictures of Sputnik in space.⁹ Instead, the pictures depicted Masevich's daughter holidaying at the Black Sea with her grandparents. The article goes on to say that while the rest of the world was 'counting the orbits that the Sputniks were making round the Earth Alla Masevich was counting the days till little Natasha came home again to her in Moscow.'¹⁰ This article is clearly showing that although Masevich had achieved renowned success in her field as a scientist, she still placed being a mother first and her primary concern was her daughter. Not letting work interfere with a woman's role as a mother is a primary theme of this article, and this era.

Women were presented as peacekeepers trying to drive forward international peace in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* magazines. This inherent link between women, international peace and the family is referring to the traditional perceptions of women being more "biological" and connected to nature.¹¹ This image of women as peacekeepers was particularly prevalent in articles written around the 16th of March, when International Women's Day conferences were held. The 1963 conference had a particular focus on international disarmament because of worldwide tension over nuclear warfare and the cold war climate. Women's role as mothers is linked to their drive for international peace. Slogans such as 'We mothers of the world' created a unifying image of all women together working together towards international peace.¹² The link of women as mothers in this call for peace is inherently tied into humanity as a 'united, wonderful family'.¹³ One group of female scientists, gathering at the conference, were focused on as mothers rather than scientists. The report said the women were all 'mothers, busy bringing up their children and naturally, they spoke of their children, and of how they all wanted the blue skies they love so well to be skies of peace.'¹⁴ In this article,

⁹ S. Russell, 'A Woman's Way to the Stars', *Soviet Union*, no. 97, 1958, p. 6.

¹⁰ S. Russell, 'A Woman's Way to the Stars', *Soviet Union*, no. 97, 1958, p. 6.

¹¹ Brown, *Marx on Gender*, p. 22.

¹² F. Cisse Aribot, 'The Role of Women in Modern Society', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 1, 1963, p. 34.

¹³ F. Cisse Aribot, 'The Role of Women in Modern Society', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 1, 1963, p. 34.

¹⁴ M. Ovsyannikova and L. Pavlova, 'High in the Sky', *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, 1963, pp. 30-31.

women's "peacekeeping nature" is directly linked to motherhood and the need to protect the world from nuclear warfare for future generations. Other articles continued this trend:

Women came from all continents to proclaim their demand for general and complete disarmament, the cessation of nuclear weapon tests and the prohibition of such weapons, and the utilization of all materials and human resources to increase the well-being of mankind. In this they see the path of peace, the path leading to a better life for their families, their children.¹⁵

In this article, women call for peace and disarmament to secure their families' well-being. Women calling for peace in this setting included women in the public and political domain, unlike in the Stalin era, where motherhood was predominantly linked to the private sphere of the home. However, the distinct link between femininity and motherhood had never left the depiction of women's roles in the Soviet Union.

Presenting women as feminine despite working in traditionally masculine roles was an intentional propaganda agenda in the Khrushchev era. Attwood reflected on the expectations for Soviet women to combine the "masculine" traits of '[r]ationality, innovation, hard work and the competitive spirit' with the "feminine" traits of 'adulation, shyness, modesty, and, above all, maternity.'¹⁶ These masculine traits were all inward characteristics, whereas the feminine traits were predominantly outward physical attributes. This construction of an outwardly feminine image of the ideal Soviet woman in propaganda is an attempt to break away from the stereotype of the androgynous female who displayed outwardly masculine features. Women would instead appear feminine outwardly, while channelling more masculine and therefore "rational" traits in their characters. Propaganda reflected this construction of the Soviet woman in the Khrushchev era as articles emphasised women's femininity. The article on the female astrophysicist described her as having an 'infectious' sense of humour despite her 'serious scientific work'.¹⁷ This article reassures the reader that this woman's serious role as a scientist has not affected her femininity and instead it highlighted her natural beauty. Similarly, an article on a medical institution reported that a female doctor had 'bright blue' eyes, 'a flashing smile' and described her movements as graceful.¹⁸ The femininity of the doctor is accentuated as her eyes are described as 'huge and luminous, grey as the waters ...

¹⁵ N. Popova, 'A World Movement', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 3, 1963, p. 2.

¹⁶ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 101.

¹⁷ S. Russell, 'A Woman's Way to the Stars', *Soviet Union*, no. 97, 1958, p. 6.

¹⁸ F. Cisse Aribot, 'The Role of Women in Modern Society', *Soviet Woman* vol. 1, 1963, p. 8.



Figure 5. N.A., 'One the Conveyor', *Soviet Union*, no. 127, 1960, p. 18.



Figure 6. O. Piszhevsky, 'Two Scientists, Three Workers', *Soviet Union*, no. 125, 1960, pp. 14-15.

that reflected a keen mind and strong will, faith and courage, loyalty and love for humanity.¹⁹ These traits listed are a reflection of the values from the early Bolshevik period that the new Soviet woman was supposed to possess. Figure 5 displays a female builder on a construction site of a new apartment block. Her slight figure and smile highlight traditional feminine features which contrast with the masculine work site. Similarly, the manicured hands working on a motherboard in figure 6 convey a feminine image. The bright red nail polish is difficult to miss in the image and it stands out against the electronic background. These two images both display femininity being successful combined with masculine environments.

¹⁹ F. Cisse Aribot, 'The Role of Women in Modern Society', *Soviet Woman* vol. 1, 1963, p. 34.

Cultural Comparison

Cultural comparison and assimilation ties back into Russian history. The Russian Tsar Peter the Great opened up Russia to Western culture when he implemented new customs in the 18th century, including shaving men's beards and wearing Western clothing.²⁰ In the Stalin era there were attempts to create a new consumer culture with a high standard of living through non-bourgeois means.²¹ Khrushchev's similar involvement in controlling the image of consumerism in the Soviet Union highlights a continuation from the Stalin era. However, propaganda was now more exposed to Western accounts of the Soviet Union as journalistic censorship had lightened and foreign visitors were more frequent, as will be seen in chapter four. There was a distinct shift from the Stalin era as propaganda attempted to present a higher standard of living in the Soviet Union that was based on direct competition with capitalism systems. The Khrushchev regime believed the rest of the world would be attracted to a socialist system if it could provide the highest living standard. This led to the "kitchen race" where consumption was compared between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Not only was there a race between the United States and the Soviet Union for scientific and sport domination, the "kitchen race" was focused on proving which society provided the best consumer culture and overall living standard for its citizens. The term "kitchen race" originated in a debate between Khrushchev and Richard Nixon in 1959 as part of the first cultural exchange between the Soviet Union and the United States displaying "The American Home" in Moscow.²² While touring the model kitchen of the prefabricated building, Nixon and Khrushchev began debating its affordability for ordinary American workers.²³ Nixon insisted that an average worker could purchase the home, for 14,000 dollars, while Khrushchev insisted that only the American elite could afford it, whereas in the Soviet Union any worker could easily obtain similar homes and appliances.²⁴ Soon after this debate, Khrushchev declared the Soviet Union would catch up and overtake the West in all areas, including living standard and the consumption of luxury consumer goods.²⁵ Hetherington argues 'that the commodity race

²⁰ J. Scherrer, "'To Catch Up and Overtake' the West: Soviet Discourse on Socialist Competition", in K. Miklóssy and M. Ilić (ed.), *Competition in Socialist Society*, New York, Routledge, 2014, p. 19.

²¹ Kiaer and Naiman, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia*, p. 4.

²² D. Goldstein, 'Domestic Porkbarreling', in H. Goscilo and B. Holmgren (ed.), *Russia- Women- Culture*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1996, p. 147.

²³ Goldstein, *Russia- Women- Culture*, p. 147.

²⁴ Y. Richmond, 'The 1959 Kitchen Debate (or, How Cultural Exchanges Changed the Soviet Union)', *Russian Life*, vol. 52, no. 4, p. 43.

²⁵ Chatterjee, Kirschenbaum and Field, *Russia's Long Twentieth Century*, p. 167.



Figure 7. N.A., *Soviet Union*, no. 164, 1963, p. 47.

was as important as the missile race in competition against capitalism'.²⁶ The Soviet regime's success against the rest of the world would be measured in luxury goods and commodities.²⁷ Therefore, consumer goods were displayed as being widely available and increasing in production in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman*. Articles were important propaganda pieces as these magazines were circulated globally.

Consumer goods displayed in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* articles were disconnected from the everyday reality of Soviet citizens' lives. There was a continuation of Stalinist "half-truths" in the Khrushchev era, as although there were more goods available than in the immediate post-World War II period, it was not to the extent presented in articles. Fashion historian, Djurdja Bartlett argues that, similarly to under Stalin, everyday reality for consumers was queues and insufficient supply in shops,²⁸ when in articles, goods were frequently reported as being readily available for consumption. In an article from 1957, a woman reminisced that there 'was a time when the country was so poor that a red-and-blue pencil seemed a marvel to a child', whereas now 'refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and electric floor polishers are to be seen in the homes of ordinary Soviet citizens.'²⁹ Consumption appeared to be everywhere and one new Moscow department store could even

serve 150,000 people daily.³⁰ Similarly, in 1961, a newly opened bridal store was very popular from the day it opened as people bought 'a lot' from evening clothes to 'dishes, perfumes, shoes, toiletry, flowers, jewelry'.³¹ Figure 7 displays a Moscow department store fully stocked

²⁶ Hetherington, *Gender and History*, p. 439.

²⁷ Hetherington, p. 439.

²⁸ Bartlett, *Fashion Theory*, p. 129.

²⁹ E. Shevelyova, 'What Women Say: Happiness', *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 85, 1957, p. 18.

³⁰ D. Krutikov, 'New Department Store', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, no. 48, 1954, p. 16.

³¹ Y. Korolyov, 'Bridal Salon', *Soviet Union*, no. 131, 1961, p. 36.



Figure 8. V. Khalip and S. Osipov, 'Saturday Night in Borisovo', *Soviet Union*, no. 165, 1963, p. 46.



Figure 9. V. Khalip and S. Osipov, 'Saturday Night in Borisovo', *Soviet Union*, no. 165, 1963, p. 47.

with shoes, bags, gloves, and many kitchen appliances. Articles and pictures in propaganda displayed a high level of consumer demand being fulfilled by the Khrushchev regime. The few articles that did acknowledge a shortage of consumer goods quickly justified it because of the hardship the Soviet Union encountered during and following World War II, in comparison to other nations, or their comparative late development of industries.³² The message that Soviet citizens had a high standard of living is conveyed clearly in these magazines, despite being disconnected with everyday reality.

Cultural consumption was not limited to cities but was widely available in rural areas. An article on a Moscow department store emphasised to readers that this store was not only in cities.³³ In 1954, an article reported there would be 10,800 new co-operative and state-owned stores opening across the Soviet Union and many would be in rural areas.³⁴ Rural families were also depicted enjoying the comforts of luxury goods. One normal, collective farm family was shown with 'a television set ... washing machine and ... a motorbike.'³⁵ An article on a collective farm near Moscow depicted villagers using cars, fixing a push bike and a couple on a motorbike, as seen in figures 8 and 9. This implied that luxury items were common occurrences and were readily available in rural settings where goods would in reality have been hard to obtain.

Families in the Khrushchev era were reported in propaganda to have large amounts of disposable income that provided a high level of consumption. Family budget reports displayed the ability for families to purchase leisure goods after paying for living essentials, such as gas,

³² E. Shevelyova, 'What Women Say: Happiness', *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 85, 1957, p. 18.

³³ D. Krutikov, 'New Department Store', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, no. 48, 1954, p. 16.

³⁴ D. Krutikov, 'New Department Store', *Soviet Union*, vol. 2, no. 48, 1954, p. 16.

³⁵ N.A., 'How long is the Collective Farmer's Working Day? Do they all receive equal wages?', *Soviet Union*, no. 155, 1963, p. 33.

rent and food. One family, the Strunins, bought ‘a new wardrobe, a radio set, two coats, a mackintosh, a suit, several pairs of trousers, shirts, underwear, textiles for dresses and children’s suits, and several pairs of footwear’, alongside other items, in a single year.³⁶ Another article reported that one family’s living costs were only 1,700 rubles per month, which amounted to less than half of their total income.³⁷ The family was left with plenty of money for recreational activities and various other expenditures, such as getting their flat refurbished, which they had done the previous autumn.³⁸ High wages reportedly allowed women to have disposable income and one article reported that a woman was earning 1,200 rubles a month at a fabric factory.³⁹ However, in reality, Soviet women earned significantly lower wages than men, which these articles consistently fail to highlight.⁴⁰ These articles also do not mention the shortages of consumer goods these families would encounter when trying to spending this disposable income. Instead, these magazine reports presented women and families with high incomes that enabled purchase of leisure items, luxury goods and improved living standards. Due to the ongoing kitchen race, these “ordinary” families appeared in propaganda to have high living standards.

Housing, similar to consumer goods, presented an opportunity to display a high living standard to the rest of the world. In the Khrushchev era there was an effort to show an increase in housing standards across the Soviet Union. During the four-year period of 1956–1960, more houses were built than in the twenty-eight years between 1918 and 1946.⁴¹ Propaganda linked women to these housing projects as many were reported to have worked on the building sites and could be seen there ‘day after day’.⁴² A *Soviet Union* article claimed that one in every four people, or 50,000,000 Soviet citizens, moved into new flats between 1958 and 1963.⁴³ A 1955 article centred on a woman moving into a new three-room flat with its own kitchen and amenities claimed this woman was joining millions of people who held housewarming parties last year.⁴⁴ However, reports on building projects neglected the general displeasure of continual overcrowding in many apartments. As historian Christine Varga-Harris points out, promises and claims of new homes were offset with numerous letters written by conventional people

³⁶ S. Zabolotsky, ‘The Budget of a Worker’s Family’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, 1963, p. 20.

³⁷ N.A., ‘Roadside Meeting’, *Soviet Union*, no. 122, 1960, p. 26.

³⁸ N.A., ‘Roadside Meeting’, *Soviet Union*, no. 122, 1960, p. 26.

³⁹ N.A., ‘What Women Say: A Feeling of Satisfaction’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 3, no. 85, 1957, p. 18.

⁴⁰ Brown, *Marx on Gender and the Family*, p. 53.

⁴¹ C. Varga-Harris, ‘Forging Citizenship on the Home Front: Reviving the Socialist Contract and Constructing Soviet Identity During the Thaw’, in P. Jones (ed.), *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinisation: Negotiating Cultural and Social Change in the Khrushchev Era*, London; New York, Routledge, 2006, p. 102.

⁴² F. Cisse Aribot, ‘The Role of Women in Modern Society’, *Soviet Woman*, vol. 1. 1963, p. 8.

⁴³ V. Yegorunin, ‘Narimanov Prospekt, BAKU’, *Soviet Union*, no. 156, 1963, p. 47.

⁴⁴ N.A., ‘New Homes’, *Soviet Union*, vol. 1, no. 59, 1955, p. 10.

who had a vastly different portrayal of the housing situation in the Soviet Union during the Khrushchev period.⁴⁵ Varga-Harris writes:

Rife with frustration, the discourses that emerged conjure up themes of wartime propaganda and bemoan a delayed homecoming or return to normalcy on the domestic front after Stalinist repression and war. In evoking persistent hardship and official rhetoric of the past, they offer a counter-narrative to that of the radiant socialist future depicted in the typical housewarming feature of the Khrushchev period. They demonstrate that, despite grandiose efforts, housing continued to be characterized by overcrowding, disrepair and extreme inconvenience.⁴⁶

Dissatisfaction with housing developments originated post-war and citizen's letters placed the personal issues of ordinary people in the forefront, not the State's version of reality.⁴⁷ These letters show that those who did not receive new apartments were frustrated and questioned their distribution.⁴⁸ The letters display that the housing crisis in the Soviet Union was not resolved and housing demand was not fully met. Issues with housing were not reported in the official propaganda rhetoric as instead there was a strong focus on the production of housing and showing an increase in living standards.

In *Soviet Union* articles, Soviet youth are presented as leading the nation into the future. The Khrushchev regime was creating a generational break through this image, as the next generation supposedly was forming the nation's future and not the generation that had been in power when Stalin's terror occurred. As Attwood explains, the regime was attempting to bring Soviet youth into the fold of the Communist Party, which they had begun to step outside of, by associating them with the future of the Soviet Union.⁴⁹ A youth subculture had been emerging that wanted to reclaim socialism and move towards democratisation and liberalisation, rather than breaking away from socialism entirely.⁵⁰ However, despite this subculture remaining a mild, idealistic vision, Soviet authorities wanted to bring it into the official political fold.⁵¹ In propaganda, youth are represented as already being a part of the regime and supporting Khrushchev. One propaganda article reported that the Soviet youth are a 'young generation, free from bigotry and the weight of habit, possessing an acute sense of the new, accept or reject

⁴⁵ Varga-Harris, *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinisation*, p. 103.

⁴⁶ Varga-Harris, p. 103.

⁴⁷ Varga-Harris, p. 106.

⁴⁸ Varga-Harris, p. 105.

⁴⁹ L. Attwood, 'Women, Cinema and Society', in L. Attwood (ed.), *Red Women on the Silver Screen: Soviet Women and Cinema from the Beginning to the End of the Communist Era*, L. Attwood and K. Sams transl., London, Pandora, 1993, pp. 72-73.

⁵⁰ Attwood, *Red Women on the Silver Screen*, pp. 72-73.

⁵¹ Attwood, p. 73.

the heritage of their fathers.’⁵² The article goes on to say: ‘when the Party rejected Stalin’s style and concepts and cast aside everything that stood in the people’s way, shackled initiative and stifled thought, when the Leninist principles of confidence in man were restored, our youth supported the Party.’⁵³ In these messages, Soviet youth’s return to supporting the government displays the break between the Stalin and Khrushchev era. The implication is that Soviet youth were aware of the errors the previous generation made and would not support a similar regime. Official propaganda shows a unified Soviet Union by displaying the apparent support of the Soviet youth. Youthfulness was also important in constructing the new Soviet man and woman as they were always presented in propaganda as young, healthy, attractive figures, in tune with their masculinity and femininity. This idea of youthfulness was seen in particular in the faces of the young cosmonauts who replaced the monuments to Stalin.⁵⁴

⁵² N.A., ‘Contemporaries of Sputnik’, *Soviet Union*, no. 155, 1963, p. 9.

⁵³ N.A., ‘Contemporaries of Sputnik’, *Soviet Union*, no. 155, 1963, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Gerovitch, *The Russian Review*, p. 467.

Femininity in Fashion

The fear of the androgynous woman, which had emerged under the later Stalin period, was also evident in the Khrushchev era. The reconstruction of the Soviet woman's image in the Khrushchev era is referred to by Attwood as a 'need to temper the rational with the romantic [which] also resulted in the revival of a traditional understanding of female beauty which had been challenged in the 1920s; women might wield pneumatic drills at work, but they should dress like fashion models at home.'⁵⁵ Here, Attwood highlights that women were instructed to possess masculine qualities in their roles in the public sphere and express feminine qualities in the private sphere. This is a break from the early Bolshevik ideology that eventually men and women would be indistinguishable from each other. Now, a woman who could not combat a masculine physique from the manual labour many performed was seen as an issue. In reaction, a traditional image of femininity was encouraged to women, including in their fashion. Fashion choice therefore was a matter of political concern as the way women dressed could shape public perception and reflect living standards, which was important in international cultural comparison.

In post-Stalin *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* publications, articles on fashion, including style advice and images of seasonal clothing, began to be published. During the 1950s, Western fashion had been rejected and branded in Soviet women's magazines as 'privileged, unpractical, irrational, irresponsible, impossible, too expensive, socially restrictive, decadent, and therefore ugly'.⁵⁶ However, as Khrushchev's new foreign policies opened the Soviet Union to the world, there were opportunities to explore Western fashion trends rather than immediately rejecting them. Some Soviet articles tried to prove that there were significant differences between Soviet and Western fashion; however, as David-Fox argues, it was actually difficult to distinguish between the two.⁵⁷ Fashion articles began appearing in *Soviet Union* from 1955,⁵⁸ with a monthly column from June 1956.⁵⁹ Women were encouraged in these articles to adopt a traditional form of femininity in their fashion choices. These articles also emphasised that all Soviet women from every 'town and country, and even in the Arctic' wanted to be well dressed, despite having nationalities and professions.⁶⁰ In 1959, thousands of letters were written to *Soviet Union* by women seeking

⁵⁵ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 170.

⁵⁶ Bartlett, *Fashion Theory*, p. 137.

⁵⁷ David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment*, p. 165.

⁵⁸ See: N. Nikiforov, 'New Fashions', *Soviet Union*, vol. 1, no. 59, 1955, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁹ See: N.A., 'Fashions', *Soviet Union*, vol. 6, no. 76, 1956, p. 41.

⁶⁰ V. Karbovskaya, 'Fashion Magazine', *Soviet Union*, no. 108, 1959, p. 47.



Figure 10. Yulia Khoritskay, 'Fashion has come to the Countryside', *Soviet Union*, no. 128, 1960, p. 16.

workplace fashion advice as these women wanted to be well dressed everywhere.⁶¹ Similar to fashion, beauty also encouraged combining femininity with traditionally masculine workplaces. Figure 10 depicts a cheesemaker putting on lipstick at work, which demonstrates to the reader that beauty was not restricted to traditionally feminine environments or the city.⁶² This picture reinforces the idea that a woman should be feminine no matter the setting.

Returning to traditional femininity in fashion and beauty accompanied a return to traditional feminine body aesthetics. The historian Gradskova argues that the 'ideal type of femininity' presented was 'women... with a visible waist, moderately slim with graceful shoulders and proportionally long legs.'⁶³ This image of the ideal Soviet woman aligns more closely with the traditional Western femininity than with the ideal androgynous Bolshevik woman explored in chapter one. These propaganda articles were used to display Soviet women to the outside world. Women were intentionally presented as retaining their femininity in masculine environments and not as shock workers or equal participants in the economy, as they

had been in the Stalin era, as seen in chapter two. The international propaganda image of Soviet women had changed under Khrushchev as now Soviet women were displayed as feminine.

While *Soviet Union*'s fashion articles were reportedly for every woman, practically, the advice could not have been applicable across all Soviet women's diverse daily lives. Changing fashion trends displayed in articles apparently satisfied 'the needs of collective farmers, professors, actors, and so on.'⁶⁴ However, one example of a fashion trend was the 1957 'full, bloused backs, loose collars, wide belts, and "barrel" skirts.'⁶⁵ In reality, this would have been impractical and unaffordable for many. With fashion changing every season, the average Soviet women would not have been able to constantly adopt new trends, as materials were difficult to source and clothes generally had to be made by hand. Instead, these seasonal fashion trends closely represent those in Western fashion magazines, which is probably what these

⁶¹ V. Karbovskaya, 'Fashion Magazine', *Soviet Union*, no. 108, 1959, p. 46.

⁶² Y. Khoritskay, 'Fashion has come to the Countryside', *Soviet Union*, no. 128, 1960, p. 16.

⁶³ Gradskova, 'Soviet People with Female Bodies', p. 137.

⁶⁴ N.A., 'Fashions', *Soviet Union*, vol. 6, no 76, 1956, p. 41.

⁶⁵ N.A., 'To Suit All Tastes', *Soviet Union*, vol. 8, no. 90, 1957, p. 31.

international Soviet magazines were replicating. In chapter four, the UK and Irish newspapers will be seen critiquing these fashion trends as lagging 10 years behind the West.

Everyday shortages in the fashion industry became apparent as traditional femininity was encouraged in clothing by the Khrushchev regime. Everyday life was disconnected from propaganda and the constructed image of the fashion industry. The everyday shortages that plagued other consumer items in Soviet citizens' lives is also seen in the availability of clothing:

The glamorous official socialist version of fashion existed as an ideological construct undisturbed by the shortages and poor quality of clothes available in everyday life. In the official discourse, the Soviet Union dictated socialist fashion trends, although in reality Soviet women spent an enormous amount of time in queues for Polish lingerie, Czech textiles or Yugoslav pullovers.⁶⁶

This disconnection from reality was a continual trend from the Stalin period, as there was still a break between reality and the official narrative. Late 1950s editions of *Soviet Woman* were more practical as they included clothing patterns for women to create their own on-trend fashion. These patterns were perhaps an answer to the limited supply of clothing available in stores. Nevertheless, an image of plenty remained in international propaganda magazine articles, which continued to display an unrealistically high living standard in the Soviet Union, despite the truth of everyday shortages.

The centralisation of fashion and the regime's control over the industries' production meant that fashion for the masses was heavily mediated. As fashion historian Djurdja Bartlett explains: '[w]ith neither tradition nor market, and aspiring to control fashion changes inside their centralized fashion systems, the socialist regimes could neither keep up nor embrace Western fashion trends.'⁶⁷ Here, Bartlett is highlighting the clear gap between Soviet and Western fashion trends. However, in *Soviet Union* articles Soviet fashion is always represented as on-trend and available for every citizen to embrace. One such article states that whether 'you are an undergraduate, a factory worker or a business executive you can't afford to be behind in fashion. Even if you are a Granny, drawing a pension, you may still want to stay à la mode.'⁶⁸ Articles such as this one portray the idea that all Soviet women were interested in fashion and that it was an everyday concern, which, on a deeper level, contributed to the construct of feminine Soviet women that was presented to the rest of the world in international propaganda.

⁶⁶ Bartlett, *Fashion Theory*, p. 134

⁶⁷ Bartlett, p. 128.

⁶⁸ O. Ivanova, 'Women's Column', *Soviet Union*, no. 158, 1963, p. 46.

Displaying Soviet women as feminine and fashionable in propaganda disparaged the stereotype in the West of the androgynous Soviet woman. A key figure that conveyed this image of feminine Soviet women to the West was Valentina Tereshkova.

Representation of Tereshkova

Following the denouncement of Stalin, the Soviet space programme was celebrated by Soviet society and, as Slava Gerovitch has argued, the cosmonauts replaced Stalin's cult of personality.⁶⁹ The final selection of Gagarin was based on his past, as he was spun into a model for young Soviets to aspire to,⁷⁰ and exemplified the figure of the "new Soviet man".⁷¹ Gagarin was always presented as an example of Soviet virtues, despite having a private life in turmoil with a fondness for drinking which caused several incidents that were hidden from the public.⁷² Just like Gagarin, Tereshkova's public image was heavily mediated by the Party as she came to embody the constructed image of the "new Soviet woman". Tereshkova's background was emphasised in propaganda, as she came from humble beginnings like so many other Soviet heroes.⁷³ The Soviet cosmonauts influenced Western perceptions of the Soviet Union as they were a form of cultural propaganda and gave Communism 'a human face'.⁷⁴ Representations of Tereshkova in propaganda will display continual themes and clear breaks from the Stalin era.

Tereshkova's space flight linked the space race with cultural competition. Tereshkova's flight was proof that the Soviet Union had succeeded in this race through improvements in technology, achieving gender equality and improving living standards. One article directly voices this message:

These achievements of the Soviet Union have raised the living standards and purchasing power of the people considerably. The interests of women have not been overlooked either. From social benefits, excellent living conditions and improved domestic conveniences to perfumery and elegant clothes – there is everything for women. We saw that Soviet women have unlimited opportunities. And most important of all – equal rights in work. The most eloquent proof of this is Valentina Tereshkova's successful cosmic flight.⁷⁵

This article ties in many aspects of the Soviet woman image constructed by the Khrushchev regime: having access to everyday domestic products, consuming luxury goods such as

⁶⁹ Gerovitch, *The Russian Review*, p. 467.

⁷⁰ A. Jenks, 'The Sincere Deceiver: Yuri Gagarin and the Search for a Higher Truth', in J. Andrews, and A. Siddiqi (ed.), *Into the Cosmos: Space Exploration and Soviet Culture*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011, p. 112.

⁷¹ Gerovitch, *Soviet Space Mythologies*, p. 48.

⁷² Jenks, *Into the Cosmos*, p. 116

⁷³ N. Khrushchev, 'To the People of the Whole World', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 7, 1963, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, p. 263.

⁷⁵ U. Sardjono, 'The Closest Friends', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 9, 1963, p. 13.

perfume and clothing, and having equality in Soviet society. These were all examples that the Soviet Union was “catching up” to the United States in the cultural competition.

Motherhood was an important theme of the Stalin era and into the Khrushchev period. Attwood has argued that the image of the hard-working, self-sacrificing mother was not a new concept to Soviet society as it had featured prominently in pre-revolutionary Russian mythology and literature.⁷⁶ Tereshkova’s biography also displays the importance of motherhood as her mother was widowed in World War II. The story of Tereshkova’s mother was an old propaganda trend as articles on the struggle of war widows stretched back past the 1950s. . Propaganda articles of the Stalin era, as seen in chapter two, displayed the perseverance of Soviet women, as widows had to carry the double burden of breadwinner and housemaker. In a speech by Tereshkova, reported in *Soviet Woman*, she discusses her father’s death and the state support that her mother, and all widows, received.⁷⁷ Khrushchev also uses this aspect of Tereshkova’s background as propaganda for why a socialist system was the best societal structure:

Her [Tereshkova’s] mother is an ordinary working woman. In the capitalist world such a family, without a breadwinner, would have eked out a miserable existence or been doomed to poverty. In Soviet conditions, under socialism, where all people have the opportunity to use their abilities, where society takes care of every person, this did not happen.⁷⁸

This speech showed the support widows received from the government and generalised that it would not have been equalled in a capitalist society. It was a continuation of the Stalinist propaganda narrative that a widow’s needs were fulfilled by State support.

Tereshkova’s image was constructed as an example of average Soviet womanhood and merely one example of female heroism. Magazine readers were reassured that Tereshkova was a normal representation of the independence and equality that all women experienced in Soviet society. A speech by Khrushchev places Tereshkova in a legacy of heroic Soviet women,

⁷⁶ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 171.

⁷⁷ V. Tereshkova, ‘Speech by Valentina Tereshkova at the World Congress of Women’, *Soviet Woman*, vol. 7, 1963, p. 46.

⁷⁸ N. S. Khrushchov, ‘Message of N.S. Khrushchov to World Congress of Women’ [sic], *Soviet Woman*, vol. 8, 1963, p. 19.



Figure 11. Y. Khalip, 'About Our Women', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 2, 1965, p. 18.

including Anka, a machine gunner from the Civil War, Dusya Vinogradova, a famous weaver from an early Five-Year Plan, Pasha Angelina, the glorified female tractor driver, and many more.⁷⁹ Even Tereshkova's mother is represented as a heroine, as she was widowed at twenty-seven and raised three children.⁸⁰ Figure 11 is a representation of how Tereshkova was presented as an ordinary Soviet woman. She is shown (at left) alongside two Heroes of Socialist Labour, Valentina Gaganova, a textile worker from Vyshni-Volochok, and Nadezhda Zaglada, a Ukrainian collective farmer.⁸¹ The women in the image are described as 'Three of the thousands and thousands of noted women' in the Soviet Union.⁸² Rather than being referred to as an exception, Tereshkova is intentionally presented as a normal example of female heroism that occurs in the Soviet Union. Tereshkova's achievement is presented as something that any ordinary Soviet woman could have accomplish. Tereshkova's ordinariness, stressed in propaganda, will be seen repeated throughout the UK and Irish newspapers in chapter four. It was an effective propaganda construct that can be seen reflected back by the UK and Irish media.

Tereshkova is used in articles as a symbol of women's equality in the Soviet Union. One article bluntly stated that Tereshkova is 'an international symbol of women's achievements in the USSR.'⁸³ Tereshkova's status as a symbol for women's equality and role

⁷⁹ N. Khrushchev, 'To the People of the Whole World', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 7, 1963, p. 5.

⁸⁰ V. Tereshkova, 'Speech by Valentina Tereshkova at the World Congress of Women', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 7, 1963, p. 46.

⁸¹ Y. Khalip, 'About Our Women', *Soviet Woman*, no. 2, 1965, p. 18.

⁸² Y. Khalip, 'About Our Women', *Soviet Woman*, no. 2, 1965, p. 18.

⁸³ N. Noonan, and C. Corigliano Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, Westport; Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 2001, p. 175.

as a spokesperson led to her directly addressing women's equality in speeches. In one such speech, published in *Soviet Woman*, Tereshkova said that Soviet women 'know nothing of any limitations of women's rights in work, in the choice of a trade or profession, in the family or in society.'⁸⁴ This speech displays a clear propaganda message to the West that women in the Soviet Union are liberated from any constraints and possess equality in all areas of society. Tereshkova uses herself as an example of the opportunities that socialism brought women. In her speech, Tereshkova says her hometown, Yaroslavl, was historically known for women's misfortunes, but through socialism she, an 'ordinary worker', became the first female cosmonaut.⁸⁵ Tereshkova's progression from textile worker to cosmonaut was presented as possible because of other women's work, such as technicians, workers, engineers and scientists, who were also liberated by socialism.⁸⁶ Tereshkova's space flight is exemplified in these magazine articles as a representation of the opportunities all Soviet women had to excel in their chosen field and not a unique occurrence.

The language used to describe Tereshkova in articles emphasises her femininity. Immediately, Tereshkova's gender sets her apart from the other cosmonauts in propaganda and is used to define her. The first *Soviet Union* article on Tereshkova, following her spaceflight, was titled 'Spacegirl', whereas an article on the opposite page on Valery Bykovsky, who performed a space flight at the same time, was titled 'Cosmonaut 5'.⁸⁷ Tereshkova was described in *Soviet Woman* as 'the charming cosmonaut' and 'smiling and a bit shy' when interviewed.⁸⁸ This description of Tereshkova as "shy" conveys a traditional ethos of timid femininity. One report depicting Tereshkova in her spacesuit described her as 'cute little Valya' and 'Little Valya, with her round, little-girl's face and jolly smile – she has gone straight into our hearts.'⁸⁹ This clearly emphasises Tereshkova's femininity and articles typically avoid using masculine pronouns with an emphasis on her being 'a pretty girl'.⁹⁰ Both of these examples describe Tereshkova's feminine looks and youth by calling her a girl and not a woman. These were key aspects of Khrushchev's representation of Soviet women at the time as he wanted to create a perception of women who were not stripped of their femininity by hard, industrial labour and domestic work. It is also a successful example of Soviet propaganda

⁸⁴ V. Tereshkova, 'Speech by Valentina Tereshkova at the World Congress of Women', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 7, 1963, p. 46.

⁸⁵ V. Tereshkova, 'Speech by Valentina Tereshkova at the World Congress of Women', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 7, 1963, p. 46.

⁸⁶ V. Tereshkova, 'Speech by Valentina Tereshkova at the World Congress of Women', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 7, 1963, p. 46.

⁸⁷ N.A., 'Spacegirl', *Soviet Union*, no. 161, 1963, p. 4; N.A., 'Cosmonaut 5', *Soviet Union*, no. 161, 1963, p. 5.

⁸⁸ N.A., 'The Cosmic Couple', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 12, 1963, p. 22.

⁸⁹ T. Adams, 'She Smiled to the Whole World', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 9, 1963, p. 11.

⁹⁰ N.A., 'A New Constellation', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 7, 1963, p. 2.



Figure 12. N.A., 'Spacegirl', *Soviet Union*, no. 161, 1963, p. 4.



Figure 13. Photograph by V. Kivrin, 'Hello There, Mother Earth!', *Soviet Union*, no. 162, 1963, p. 28-29.

as these terms were seen reflected back in the UK and Irish newspapers. Chapter four will explore how the UK and Irish newspapers similarly referred to Tereshkova as “pretty”, a “girl” and also called her by her nick-name “Valya”. Tereshkova emphasises her femininity directly by saying, following her space flight, that she intended to get married and have a family. She states in her interview: ‘I am a woman and nothing feminine is alien to me.’⁹¹ This embodies the perception that the Khrushchev regime wanted to project to the West, that a socialist society had not reduced Soviet women to androgynous figures. Instead, women embraced the available luxury products, fashion and feminine qualities. At times Tereshkova was described more assertively as ‘young, strong, and confident’ with ‘a voice to raise the spirits of everybody.’⁹² However, the dominant propaganda picture of Tereshkova, particularly regarding her looks, emphasised her femininity.

Tereshkova’s clothes are consistently portrayed as fashionable and feminine in propaganda magazines. Figure 12 depicts Tereshkova reading, prior to her space flight, in a summer dress with a tailored coat and small heels.⁹³ This leisure shot of Tereshkova would have been carefully selected, as it conveys a feminine image with Tereshkova partaking in a passive, not active or masculine, hobby. During the post-space flight reception held in Moscow for Tereshkova and Bykovsky, Tereshkova was presented in a striped black and white blouse and a feminine skirt (figure 13).⁹⁴ This dress contrasts with the military uniform Bykovsky and

⁹¹ N.A., ‘The Cosmic Couple’, *Soviet Woman*, vol. 12, 1963, pp. 22-23.

⁹² T. Adams, ‘She Smiled to the Whole World’, *Soviet Woman*, vol. 9, 1963, p. 11.

⁹³ N.A., ‘Spacegirl’, *Soviet Union*, no. 161, 1963, p. 4.

⁹⁴ Photograph by V. Kivrin, ‘Hello There, Mother Earth!’, *Soviet Union*, no. 162, 1963, pp. 28-29.

the other male cosmonauts wore. Tereshkova's space flight took place a few days before the international women's conference held in Moscow. Her civilian clothes tied in with the speech she gave on international peace at the conference, whereas military dress would have been a reminder of the Soviet Union's military threat.

Despite occupying the traditional male dominated sphere of space, Tereshkova was described in traditionally feminine roles following her return to earth. These roles of bride, wife, and mother re-cast her in a traditional, feminine image. It displays a continuation of the contradictory image that was the ideal Soviet woman. The Soviet woman was told to embrace traditional femininity, including the role of wife and mother in the private sphere, despite being encouraged into the public sphere with promises of equality. Tereshkova is a prime example of this contradiction as her image was mediated by the Khrushchev regime. Although she was the first woman in space, she was quickly recast into domestic roles and became a spokesperson for women's equality.

The wedding between Valentina Tereshkova and fellow cosmonaut, Andrian Nikolayev, re-cast Tereshkova into a traditional, feminine image only five months after her return to Earth. This wedding contributed to the public's fascination with cosmonauts, both domestically and abroad, as it was the only wedding between two cosmonauts. The widely reported event gave details of the occasion, including the bride and groom's fashion. On the day, Tereshkova and Nikolayev were depicted wearing the latest wedding styles at the Palace of Weddings in Moscow, a highly desired wedding venue.⁹⁵ UK and Irish newspapers widely reported the event, with the *Daily Telegraph* reporting that the bride wore a white veil dotted with flowers and a knee-length white dress, and the groom a black suit with a silver tie.⁹⁶ The knee-length wedding dress was a popular style as *Soviet Woman* had other articles that year depicting similar gowns,⁹⁷ and it was a style used in magazines until 1965.⁹⁸ The wedding between Tereshkova and Nikolayev was presented in *Soviet Union* as a high-profile event with many political guests including Yuri Gagarin as best man, and Nikita and Nina Khrushchev as the guests of honour.⁹⁹ Even foreign journalists, including representatives of the Associated Press, United Press International, and several well-known Western newspapers were invited.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ N.A., 'The Cosmic Couple', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 12, 1963, pp. 22-23.

⁹⁶ J. Wolfenden, 'Crowds Mob Space Couple', *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1963, p. 24.

⁹⁷ See: L. Danilov, 'A Wedding in Sherovich', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 2, 1965, p. 12; N.A., 'Fashions', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 4, 1963, pp. 32-33.

⁹⁸ N.A., *Soviet Woman*, no. 10, Back Cover.

⁹⁹ N.A., 'Space Wedding', *Soviet Union*, no. 166, 1963, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰ Purvis and Hulbert, *When Reporters Cross the Line*, p. 120.



Figure 14. Honorio Munos, 'Cuba's Fifth Anniversary', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 1, 1964, p. 12.



Figure 15. V. Suchkov, *Soviet Woman*, vol. 3, 1965, p. 32.

Traditionally feminine qualities were conveyed to the world through Tereshkova as her constructed image subliminally supported the importance of a woman becoming a wife.

Tereshkova's engagement in political life began soon after her space flight. Similarly to Yuri Gagarin, Tereshkova went on an international tour as a Soviet delegate after her wedding in 1963. Tereshkova, her husband, Adrian Nikolayev, and her fellow cosmonaut, Valeri Bykovsky, went on a 33-day tour to India, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Cuba, Mexico, the United States, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.¹⁰¹ This tour was the longest undertaken by Soviet cosmonauts to foreign nations.¹⁰² Philip Muehlenbeck argues, however, that, unlike Gagarin, Tereshkova was not a politicised figure as she was not given access to many foreign leaders and was not expected to engage in political debate.¹⁰³ While on these tours, pictures surfaced of Tereshkova performing a role of a 'goodwill ambassador', as Bridger calls her.¹⁰⁴ For example, figure 14 shows Tereshkova on her visit to Cuba, giving Fidel Castro a picture of herself in a spacesuit, and figure 15 depicts Tereshkova opening an exhibition in India. These public appearances were displays of friendliness, rather than of the superiority of Soviet socialism. During Tereshkova's visit to the UK, *Soviet Woman* reported Tereshkova was given an 'enthusiastic welcome' and was awarded the gold medal from the

¹⁰¹ N.A., 'On an Orbit of Friendship', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 3, 1964, p. 11.

¹⁰² N.A., 'On an Orbit of Friendship', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 3, 1964, p. 11.

¹⁰³ Muehlenbeck, *Gender, Sexuality, and the Cold War*, p. 282.

¹⁰⁴ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 230.

British Interplanetary Society.¹⁰⁵ This extensive tour gave the Soviet Union a new, well-spoken, 'human face'.¹⁰⁶ In the articles of Tereshkova's tour, she was depicted fashionably and usually performing passive tasks, such as meetings and opening ceremonies. Femininity would soon be conveyed in another way as Tereshkova became a mother.

The recasting of Tereshkova in the role of motherhood placed another traditional form of femininity onto her image. Similar to the wedding of the two cosmonauts, there was widespread interest in the birth of the first "space baby" for two reasons: firstly, to see if the space flights had any effect on the baby, as both parents had travelled into space, and secondly the celebrity status of both parents. Pictures of the first encounter between baby Alyonushka and Tereshkova were widely available and are seen in UK and Irish newspapers and in *Soviet Woman*.¹⁰⁷ Even *Soviet Union* depicted the new family leaving the hospital with Nikolayev holding the baby and Tereshkova holding a large bouquet of flowers, in a blouse and skirt, with hair and make-up done.¹⁰⁸ An article from 1965 by Tereshkova also displayed Tereshkova taking care of baby Alyonushka. In this article, Tereshkova made a plea for international peace and called for mothers to protect the world for their children. This article depicts Tereshkova as a happy mother 'sure that there is no joy like the first joy of motherhood',¹⁰⁹ who exclaims that although she was fearless before when she 'entered the spaceship without a qualm', now when her 'baby cries something turns over in me.'¹¹⁰ This article presages the future politicisation of Tereshkova as she became a mouthpiece for the Soviet regime.

The decision for Tereshkova to switch to the world of politics was decided by the Soviet leadership.¹¹¹ Despite studying to become an engineer, Tereshkova was forced into politics because, as Nikolai Kamanin, who shaped the cosmonauts' speeches and images following their spaceflights, said: 'engineers were two a penny in the Soviet Union but a woman who could appear at ease in Paris or Washington was worth her weight in gold.'¹¹² Tereshkova was an ideal candidate for politics, as she was successful in public speaking and was internationally recognisable.¹¹³ By 1968, she had been appointed Chairwoman of the Soviet Women's Committee.¹¹⁴ The re-casting of Tereshkova into a politician was her final role during this period. It shaped the way *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* presented her in the late 1960s.

¹⁰⁵ N.A., 'On an Orbit of Friendship', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 3, 1964, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 230.

¹⁰⁷ V. Cheredintsev, 'Happy Parents', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 5, 1964, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸ N.A., *Soviet Union*, 1964, no. 174, p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ V. Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, 'Our Dear Blue Earth!', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 5, 1965, pp. 24-25.

¹¹⁰ V. Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, 'Our Dear Blue Earth!', *Soviet Woman*, vol. 5, 1965, pp. 24-25.

¹¹¹ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 236.

¹¹² Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 236.

¹¹³ Bridger, p. 236.

¹¹⁴ N.A., *Soviet Woman*, vol. 10, 1968, p. 4.

Tereshkova's speeches consistently became centred on achieving international peace, which was presented as something that all Soviet women desired. This shift into politics and her role in recounting Party propaganda would come to shape the way Tereshkova was viewed in the Western world. As will be seen in UK and Irish newspapers, her regurgitated Party lines would become a point of frustration for Western, second-wave feminists in the 1980s.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 235.

In the Khrushchev era, *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* magazines displayed the shift towards an image of feminised Soviet women. The policy of peaceful coexistence influenced attempts to make the Soviet Union and the socialist way of life attractive to the West through demonstration of the Soviet Union fulfilling the consumption needs of its citizens and making Soviet women seem modern, attractive and feminine. Tereshkova received significant international attention and was the perfect ambassador to represent the ideal Soviet woman. Soviet magazine articles emphasised Tereshkova's femininity through her looks and fashion choices. Tereshkova was displayed as one example, not as an exception, of the success Soviet women achieved because of gender equality. The way Tereshkova influenced the discussion of equality in the UK and Ireland will be explored in chapter four, alongside gauging the influence she had on the image of the Soviet woman.

Chapter Four: UK and Irish Newspapers

In this section I will analyse how the propaganda image of Soviet women was presented to the rest of the world and how it was received in UK and Irish newspapers. In chapters two and three I explored the shift in the presentation of Soviet women as equal figures in the public sphere, under Stalin, to modern, feminine figures in the Khrushchev era. From here, there is a need to analyse how this shift in propaganda was received by the outside world. I selected UK and Irish newspapers as a case study to explore the reception of this image.

In UK and Irish newspapers over the period analysed, from 1940 to 1970, correspondents and reporters visiting the Soviet Union depicted the everyday reality of Soviet cities. This often led to discrepancies between what official propaganda was portraying to the outside world and what these visitors experienced. There were fewer accounts of Soviet women in the UK and Irish press during the Stalin era than in the Khrushchev period, for two reasons: the Soviet Union was predominantly closed off to visitors under the Stalin regime, and UK and Irish newspapers had little room for interest articles due to paper rationing following World War II, which was only gradually lifted between 1945 and 1955.¹ In the late 1950s, Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence opened the Soviet Union to international visitors and enabled cultural exchanges.² Therefore, there were more reports on everyday Soviet life in the UK and Irish press during this period.

During the Stalin era there was a cliché in the UK and Irish press that Soviet women were not interested in beauty and fashion. In 1942, the *Sunday Mirror* reported that 'Russian women dress in overalls and flat shoes' and 'never powder their faces or redden their lips.'³ These Soviet women were depicted in practical work clothing and with faces devoid of makeup. This image should be attributed to the propaganda published in the Soviet era, which focused on a woman's role in the workplace.

Press historian John Jenks argues that during World War II, the British–Soviet alliance created a 'prism, or journalistic frame conditioned by the fog of war, censorship and propaganda' through which UK and Irish journalists viewed the Soviet news.⁴ Journalists focused on the Soviets' 'virtues instead of their vices' in this period.⁵ Jenks argues that the deterioration of British–Soviet relations in 1945 created new stories that questioned and examined the Soviets' previously ignored behaviour.⁶ Jenks' highlighted change in attitude

¹ J. Tunstall, *Newspaper Power: The New National Press in Britain*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2005, p. 33.

² Thompson, *A Vision Unfulfilled*, p. 374.

³ J. Boss, 'In Russia Your Wife Would', *Sunday Mirror*, 12 July 1942, pp. 10-11.

⁴ Jenks, *British Propaganda and News Media*, p. 27.

⁵ Jenks, p. 27.

⁶ Jenks, p. 27.

towards the Soviet Union can be seen mirrored in the UK and Irish press' treatment of the Soviet woman's image. In World War II, the press show admiration of Soviet women going without luxuries, and their participation in the military and heavy industries. However, this admiration changes into criticism soon after the war as the heavy work is viewed as having masculinised women's bodies.

The UK and Irish press had a stereotype of a masculinised Soviet woman whose body was de-feminised through hard labour and held little interest for fashion and consumer goods. In the Khrushchev era, this image of the Soviet woman slowly became more traditionally feminine in the UK and Irish press, reflecting the shift towards presenting articles on fashion and beauty in Soviet propaganda magazines, as seen in chapter 3. Valentina Tereshkova is a focal point of this chapter as the influence of her image, as a symbol of the ideal Soviet woman and women's equality, is analysed in the UK and Irish press. Tereshkova embodied a modern, feminine Soviet woman, who was praised in the UK and Irish press for her physical appearance and fashion.

Fashion was an important way for the Khrushchev regime to demonstrate the traditional image of femininity that Soviet women were embracing. The construction of Tereshkova's style displayed Western fashion trends back to the West. This is an example of the foreign policy of peaceful coexistence as recognisable aspects of Western culture were used to make Soviet culture seem familiar to the West. The Khrushchev regime believed that it could attract the rest of the world to a socialist society by displaying a superior culture through familiar means, including fashion. Tereshkova's image was influential in the UK and Irish perception of what Soviet women were, and generated discussions on UK and Irish gender equality.

Fashion

UK and Irish fashion in the 1950s shifted from a blurring of gender boundaries to traditional femininity by reinstating firm lines of what was considered elegant and vulgar. 1920s glamour had allowed experimentations on the boundaries of gender and class.⁷ Fashion historian Carol Dyhouse argued that during the 1950s the media and fashion industry created clear boundaries in fashion which were mimicked by the public.⁸ Inside these boundaries was effectively traditional femininity that discouraged ‘the masculine, capable, efficient, strong-willed female,’ who was now ‘*out of fashion*’.⁹ This “new look” of traditional femininity with all of its ‘limitations’ celebrated the ‘well-bred, ladylike’, passive woman.¹⁰ Therefore, it is clear why the UK and Irish newspapers in this era rejected the Soviet women’s de-feminised bodies. This also reflects the shift in the image of the Soviet woman as Khrushchev encouraged a traditional view of femininity onto the image of Soviet women in international propaganda.

In World War II, Soviet women were reported to be going without fashion and luxury consumer goods in the UK and Irish newspapers. The *Sunday Mirror* reported that Soviet women ‘have no time or inclination for anything but the harsh necessity of defending their country.’¹¹ This conveyed to the UK and Irish public that Soviet women were focused on producing war-time necessities, instead of following fashions and trends. The attitude of the Soviet woman was complimented as they did not prioritise fashion during wartime and instead put ‘*the essentials first and the luxuries after*’.¹² However, a mere two years after the end of the war these compliments turned to criticism of the lack of style and colour in Soviet fashion in the later Stalin era. Herbert Ashley, a reporter from the *Daily Telegraph*, described the fashion on the streets of the Soviet Union as ‘unbelievably primitive’ as he never saw anyone with ‘a bright scarf, ribbon or hat’.¹³ One article even decried the Soviet Union being ‘sentenced by Stalin to a life of drab austerity’.¹⁴ Not only were the styles of Soviet clothing criticised in the UK and Irish press, but so was the quality of materials used. An article in the *Daily Mail* described clothing in the Soviet Union as ‘expensive and of poor quality by Western standards.’¹⁵ Although these were two conservative newspapers, most provincial papers who

⁷ C. Dyhouse, *Glamour: Women, History, Feminism*, London, Zed Books, 2013, p. 90.

⁸ Dyhouse, *Glamour*, p. 90.

⁹ Dyhouse, p. 85.

¹⁰ Dyhouse, p. 90.

¹¹ J. Boss, ‘In Russia Your Wife Would’, *Sunday Mirror*, 12 July 1942, p. 10.

¹² J. Boss, ‘In Russia Your Wife Would’, *Sunday Mirror*, 12 July 1942, p. 11.

¹³ H. Ashley, ‘Everyone is Spied on in Russia’, *Daily Telegraph*, 2 May 1947, p. 4.

¹⁴ E. E. Sinclair, ‘Lady Comrades May Now Make-Up’, *The Irish Times*, 22 August 1953, p. 12; This notion of “drabness” is frequently used when referring to Soviet citizen’s fashion. See also: Sir M. Peterson, ‘Round the Moscow Streets’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 22 March 1950, p. 5; M. Peterson, ‘The Russian Man-In-The Street’, *Liverpool Echo*, 22 March 1950, p. 3.

¹⁵ G. Young, ‘Her Grocer Never Calls’, *Daily Mail*, 18 April 1950, p. 4.

commented on the state of Soviet fashion reflected a similar view. An article from the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* described female seasonal workers in Moscow negatively: ‘a really chic woman is never seen. It is a type which no longer exists in the Soviet Union.’¹⁶ The masculinisation of women’s bodies and the poor quality of clothing created this perception, as there were numerous UK and Irish articles which relate this lack of fashion taste and the poor quality of materials.¹⁷

Soviet fashion was seen as intentionally breaking away from Western fashion by being ‘frowned on as “decadent”’ by the Soviet government.¹⁸ This explains the consistent dislike of Soviet styles during the later Stalin era. Images of women working in propaganda conveyed the idea that Soviet women did have the time to care about fashions, even if in reality they did. The image of unfashionable Soviet women lingered in the UK and Irish press. Soviet propaganda also did not undermine this stereotype that had emerged during this period as fashion was not consistently focused on in *Soviet Woman* and *Soviet Union* until late 1953. There was no intentional presentation of traditional, feminine beauty in Soviet propaganda until Khrushchev’s policy of making Communism appealing through familiar means.

The UK and Irish press tried to differentiate between the propaganda image of the living standard in the Soviet Union and the reality during the Stalin and Khrushchev eras. While large quantities of consumer goods were presented as being widely available in Soviet propaganda magazines, these images were rejected in the UK and Irish press in the early 1950s, as articles from foreign correspondents surfaced. The *Daily Mail* reported that few luxury goods, such as vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and refrigerators, were ‘in general use – and Soviet life has scores of minor discomforts.’¹⁹ One such discomfort was the short supply of beauty products, despite the average Soviet woman’s reported love of cosmetics.²⁰ An article from the *Western Mail* reported that the Party encouraged women to focus on their roles as workers in the Five-Year Plan rather than on ‘frivolous’ products such as make-up.²¹ One article from 1955 recalled the Stalin period by saying that Soviet women ‘were not encouraged to think about fashion, or make-up – or leisure. An image of drabness and queuing remained in the UK and Irish press, despite Khrushchev’s emphasis on the higher living standard in the Soviet Union at this time. Consumer goods, such as shoes, hats, dresses, were scarce, even those of

¹⁶ Sir M. Peterson, ‘Round the Moscow Streets’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 22 March 1950, p. 5.

¹⁷ See: A. Hope, ‘Russia Through Tourist Eyes’, *Daily Telegraph*, 8 November 1955, p. 6; P. Sergeant, ‘Shopping in Moscow is so Boring’, *Liverpool Echo*, 21 September 1955, p. 4; G. Young, ‘Her Grocer Never Calls’, *Daily Mail*, 18 April 1950, p. 4.

¹⁸ G. Young, ‘Her Grocer Never Calls’, *Daily Mail*, 18 April 1950, p. 4.

¹⁹ G. Young, ‘Her Grocer Never Calls’, *Daily Mail*, 18 April 1950, p. 4.

²⁰ G. Young, ‘Her Grocer Never Calls’, *Daily Mail*, 18 April 1950, p. 4.

²¹ J. Fisher, ‘Lipstick Helps to Tell the Story of Russia’s New Deal’, *Western Mail*, 10 August 1953, p. 10.

poor quality.’²² UK and Irish newspapers during this period reflected the everyday realities that plagued a Soviet women’s consumption of goods.

In the mid- to late 1950s, Soviet fashion was described in the UK and Irish newspapers as being drab and filled with dark, neutral colours, similar to during the Stalin era. Foreign visitors were sometimes confused at Soviet fashion when it fused gender differences. In 1955, a visitor to a Soviet fashion show described the audience as being ‘brought down to earth with a bang’ when a Soviet female model walked in wearing a boiler suit ‘[i]deal for the engineering worker’.²³ The visitors’ expectations were not met as they had expected to see feminine clothes for feminine women and instead, a traditionally masculine outfit was placed on a woman.

In 1961, it was reported that for years Soviet women had a ‘reputation of being dowdy and badly dressed.’²⁴ A reporter for the *Liverpool Echo*, visiting Moscow, saw consumer goods available which had a ‘complete absence of elegance’, as there was ‘little variety’, and there was no comparison to goods available in the UK and Ireland.²⁵ These reviews show a disregard for Soviet fashion as their poor quality is emphasised in comparison to UK and Irish materials and styling. This comparison between the two nations was frequently commented on by visitors as it was observed that crowds on Soviet streets were dressed worse than the UK and Irish,²⁶ as clothing styles in the Soviet Union, which were ‘...the latest in Soviet fashion’, were to the ‘London eye... rarely less than 10 years old’.²⁷ However, there were attempts to reframe Soviet fashion. An article in *The Times* reported that even in ‘remote parts of the Soviet Union the authorities are stated to be paying more attention to fashion.’²⁸ This attention shows that fashion was developing into an important aspect of the Soviet woman’s image and it was fast becoming an interest of the Soviet regime.

Tereshkova’s fashion was consistently complimented in UK and Irish articles. The *Daily Mail* reported that Tereshkova dressed ‘quietly but fashionably’ and she even wore ‘spiked heels.’²⁹ Tereshkova’s dresses and heels are an intentional display of femininity, which would be undercut if she wore military uniform. Bridger highlighted the decision by the Politburo to not have Tereshkova in military dress.³⁰ On the eve of her flight, *The Times* reported that Tereshkova wore ‘an elegant blue linen dress and shoes with stiletto heels’ to

²² N.A., ‘Soviet Women Get a New Look’, *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 4 February 1955, p. 4.

²³ A. Hope, ‘The Russian Cover Girl has 44in. Hips’, *Daily Telegraph*, 15 November 1955, p. 5.

²⁴ N.A., ‘New Enterprise in Moscow – Regular Model Parades Attract Many Women’, *Sunday Telegraph*, 30 April 1961, p. 12.

²⁵ P. Sergeant, ‘Shopping in Moscow Is So Boring’, *Liverpool Echo*, 21 September 1955, p. 4; See also: E. Downton, ‘Moscow Re-Discovered’, *Daily Telegraph*, 8 August 1953, p. 4.

²⁶ See: E. Downton, ‘Moscow Re-Discovered’, *Daily Telegraph*, 8 August 1953, p. 4.

²⁷ A. Hope, ‘Russia Through Tourist Eyes’, *Daily Telegraph*, 8 November 1955, p. 6.

²⁸ N.A., ‘Better Clothes for Russians’, *The Times*, 23 December 1953, p. 4.

²⁹ K. Morfett, ‘Date in Space’, *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

³⁰ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, pp. 229-230.

meet with press on the launch pad.³¹ Following the spaceflight, the ceremony in Red Square celebrating Tereshkova and Bykovsky's space flights became 'slightly slower' than usual 'because of Valentina's high heels'.³² There was also widespread interest in Tereshkova's wedding dress in late 1963 and it certainly reflected trending styles. Across UK and Irish newspapers it was widely reported that Tereshkova wore a knee-length dress, with gloves, a double, flower-dotted veil, all of which was in white.³³ The *Daily Mirror* reported that same day an English actress, Jan Williams, from the latest James Bond film was married in a similar knee-length wedding dress, except hers was pink.³⁴ This shows that Tereshkova's dress was fashionable even by UK and Irish standards, as the style was also used by a popular actress.

Following the impact of Tereshkova in 1963, there were more reports on Soviet fashion following Western trends. *The Times* reported that Soviet women were now like UK and Irish women 'staggering around' in high heels,³⁵ and wearing mini-skirts, similar to those seen in Western magazines.³⁶ UK and Irish newspapers attributed this apparent increased interest in fashion to a surge in production of consumer goods and an improvement in their quality.³⁷ These changes were also a result of Soviet women's genuine interest in fashion and women's magazines, which were 'studied with enthusiasm'.³⁸ Women in Moscow told *The Times* that they were often hurt when people from overseas said that Soviet women were not interested in fashion, as they were just like any other women.³⁹ However, although there was a rise in the quality and quantity of Soviet consumer goods, UK and Irish newspapers criticised their prices. In 1966, the *Birmingham Daily Post* compared prices of goods found in the Soviet Union with comparable items in England. Nylon underwear, found in England for around 25s was the equivalent of £10 in Moscow.⁴⁰ Similarly, shoes cost the equivalent of £20 and a bath towel worth 15s was priced at £5.⁴¹ This showed the daily accessibility of goods and the realities of Soviet consumerism was an interesting topic to newspapers.

³¹ N.A., 'Russia Sends Woman into Space', *The Times*, 17 June 1963, p. 12.

³² M. Frankland, 'Valentina's Day in Red Square', *The Observer*, 23 June 1963, p. 2.

³³ See: N.A., 'White Wedding', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 4 November 1963, p. 26; N.A., 'A Window on the World – Moscow', *Illustrated London News*, 11 January 1964, p. 13; N.A., 'Khrushchev Toasts Space Pair', *Irish Times*, 4 November 1963, p. 9.

³⁴ N.A., 'The Wedding of the "From Russia With Love" Girl', *Daily Mirror*, 4 November 1963, p. 17.

³⁵ N.A., 'Financial Bar to Cultural Links', *The Times*, 22 September 1965, p. 8.

³⁶ N.A., 'Mini-skirts are Official in Moscow', *The Times*, 30 November 1966, p. 1.

³⁷ P. Chapman and G. Lewthwaite, 'Odd Thing About These Russian Fashions... They'll Go Down Much Better in the Ascot Belt', *Daily Mail*, 27 June 1966, p. 3.

³⁸ M. Openshaw, 'A Hot Meal, A Magazine or a Mother in Space: Daily Life', *The Times*, 28 March 1966, p. 11.

³⁹ M. Openshaw, 'A Hot Meal, A Magazine or a Mother in Space: Daily Life', *The Times*, 28 March 1966, p. 11.

⁴⁰ N.A., 'Soviet Palaces for Tomorrow's Citizens', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 May 1968, p. 8.

⁴¹ N.A., 'Soviet Palaces for Tomorrow's Citizens', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 May 1968, p. 8.

Appearance

Soviet women were featured in the UK and Irish press as members of the army and factory workers early after the Bolshevik revolution. An *Illustrated London News* picture taken at a World War I battle front displayed a Russian battalion comprising 260 women who had filled male deserter spaces.⁴² These women had ‘their hair cropped close to their head’ and were wearing ‘breeches and puttees’.⁴³ Substantial losses in World War II led to many unmarried women being recruited into the Soviet army. Out of the 800,000 women drafted, more than 70 per cent of them served on the front.⁴⁴ During the first week of World War II, the Soviet Air Force had over 4,000 of their 7,700 planes were destroyed.⁴⁵ Subsequently, three fully female air regiments formed: the 586th Women’s Fighter Regiment, the 587th Women’s Bomber Regiment, and the 588th Women’s Night Bomber Regiment.⁴⁶ The Women’s Night Bomber Regiment was particularly renowned as they flew without lights on their night raids against the Germans, which earned them the name: *Nachthexen* – or night witches.⁴⁷ As Soviet women fought in the war and did not just fulfil traditionally feminine roles, like nursing, a masculinised image of them was presented to the world. The *Daily Mail* praised Soviet women’s inclusion in World War II as ‘short-comings’ of being ‘weak and timid’ were cured by hard, manual labour.⁴⁸ However, since then Soviet women had become ‘more and more masculine and less and less feminine.’⁴⁹ This became a frequent criticism of Soviet women as their inclusion in work led to a masculinisation of their bodies.

The inclusion of women in the Soviet work force was criticised by UK and Irish newspapers as this was connected to the de-feminisation of women’s bodies. Stalinist propaganda pictures of Soviet women working in heavy industry had displayed this image of work masculinising women’s bodies. Figure 16 is an example of this type image. The picture, from 1950, depicts a woman wearing overalls and assisting in the operation of a cutting and loading machine in a mine.⁵⁰ The Soviet propaganda in this period reflected the gender equality

⁴² N.A., ‘Russia’s Fighting Heroines: Wounded Women Soldiers in Hospital’, *Illustrated London News*, 15 September 1917, p. 309.

⁴³ N.A., ‘Russia’s Fighting Heroines: Wounded Women Soldiers in Hospital’, *Illustrated London News*, 15 September 1917, p. 309.

⁴⁴ Wilson, *Silk and Steel*, p. 50.

⁴⁵ F. Ziemke, *The Soviet Juggernaut*, Chicago, Time-Life Books, 1984, p. 114.

⁴⁶ Wilson, *Silk and Steel*, p. 50.

⁴⁷ Wilson, p. 50.

⁴⁸ P. Mesta, ‘They’ve No Time to Be Feminine’, *Daily Mail*, 16 October 1953, p. 6.

⁴⁹ P. Mesta, ‘They’ve No Time to Be Feminine’, *Daily Mail*, 16 October 1953, p. 6.

⁵⁰ N.A., *Soviet Union*, no. 2, 1950, p. 11.



Figure 16. N.A., Soviet Union, April 1950, no. 2, p. 11.

that Soviet women experienced in the Soviet Union. In 1947, a *Belfast Telegraph* article reported that in the Soviet Union women were ‘constantly’ seen ‘working on railroads, carrying heavy sacks of coal on their backs, working as boiler stokers and clearing thoroughfares of deep snow.’⁵¹ These Soviet women were described as ‘a sturdy race’ that have ‘an extremely sturdy physique’,⁵² showing a clear connection between the work that they were performing and the masculinisation of their bodies. The article then said that UK and Irish women would never be expected to perform this kind of heavy manual labour,⁵³ as it ‘would never be tolerated by women in the UK and Ireland.’⁵⁴ UK and Irish newspapers are very clear that neither gender wants

this form of equality for UK and Irish women, as it was emphasised that hard, manual labour would never be performed by a women. An article from 1970, in the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, reflected on the Stalinist propaganda images of women doing heavy manual labour:

In point of fact, the pictures were revolting. Most of the women had developed 16-inch biceps. Their hair looked as if it had been combed with a rake. They wore tough, touch-me-not expressions guaranteed to scare off any would-be suitor.... Just imaging there being no females around other than that chunky-tweed type or carbon copies of those muscular Russians.⁵⁵

This article shows disdain towards the masculinisation of the female body through the physically heavy work. Even the title of the article, ‘Let’s Put a Stop to This Nonsense About Equal Rights for Women,’ implies that there was still a debate over, and resistance to, gender equality in UK and Ireland during the 1970s. This resistance to gender equality was centred on

⁵¹ Lady M. Stewart, ‘Red Russia’s Attitude to Church Going, Religion Seen as Safety Valve’, *Belfast Telegraph*, 8 May 1947, p. 4.

⁵² Lady M. Stewart, ‘Red Russia’s Attitude to Church Going, Religion Seen as Safety Valve’, *Belfast Telegraph*, 8 May 1947, p. 4; Soviet women are described as being ‘made very generously’ in J. Boss, ‘In Russia Your Wife Would’, *Sunday Mirror*, 12 July 1942, pp. 10-11.

⁵³ Lady M. Stewart, ‘Red Russia’s Attitude to Church Going, Religion Seen as Safety Valve’, *Belfast Telegraph*, 8 May 1947, p. 4.

⁵⁴ G. Young, ‘Her Grocer Never Calls’, *Daily Mail*, 18 April 1950, p. 4.

⁵⁵ J. Carr, ‘Let’s Put a Stop to This Nonsense About Equal Rights for Women’, *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 28 October 1970, p. 6.

the idea that women's manual labour created androgynous figures who were not suitable for marriage. There was clear disapproval in the press of women's bodies becoming androgynous and losing their femininity.

The Soviet woman was often represented in the UK and Irish press as a masculine figure who was devoid of femininity. This slide towards androgyny was criticised in UK and Irish newspapers in the late 1940s to early 1950s. In 1950, a Scottish visitor described Soviet women on the streets of Moscow as 'stalwart lassies, red-faced, short and stout, some even appearing broader than they are long.'⁵⁶ These women did not display an ideal, slim body that represented femininity to the UK and Irish audiences and were criticised for their hefty figures. An American tourist, Marilyn Mercer, who visited Moscow in 1959, wrote a series of articles printed in *The Irish Times* on her experiences. She reported that during her visit, several 'padded' Soviet women commented that American women were 'so thin.'⁵⁷ Mercer said she tried to explain that 'if we ate the quantities of bread and butter, potatoes, gravy and sweets, we'd be fat too. This drew a blank – in Russia you're thin when young, and fat when old, and you have to eat to keep up your strength.'⁵⁸ This story reinforced the stereotype that Soviet women were hefty women whose physical appearance was solely linked to their ability to work and they were not concerned that their bodies that did not adhere to the standard of thin Western beauty.

Soviet women were criticised by the UK and Irish press for not using beauty products and enhancements, which made them appear androgynous. The *Liverpool Echo* reported on the Commission on Women's Rights in 1948 where two female Soviet delegates were described as having 'hair drawn tightly around faces devoid of makeup,' and one was dressed in a 'shapeless black frock' with 'uncurled hair.'⁵⁹ This article emphasises a lack of femininity in these women by criticising their non-existent use of beauty products and poor styling. Similarly, in an article from 1956, a reporter travelling to the Soviet Union compared Finnish and Soviet stewardesses.⁶⁰ The Finnish stewardesses were described as looking elegant in their uniforms and contrastingly, the Soviet stewardess was reported as not wearing any cosmetics, having a poor fitting navy suit, and looking 'sturdy'.⁶¹ Later in the same article, Soviet women

⁵⁶ Sir M. Peterson, 'Round the Moscow Streets', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 22 March 1950, p. 5.

⁵⁷ M. Mercer, 'Russia Through a Woman's Eyes: Moscow's Suburbia', *Irish Times*, 8 September 1959, p. 6. (original emphasis)

⁵⁸ M. Mercer, 'Russia Through a Woman's Eyes: Moscow's Suburbia', *Irish Times*, 8 September 1959, p. 6.

⁵⁹ N.A., 'Soviet Women Succumb to "New Look"', *Liverpool Echo*, 8 January 1948, p. 15.

⁶⁰ E. Starkie, 'A Don in Russia – I', *The Sunday Times*, 30 September 1956, p. 8.

⁶¹ E. Starkie, 'A Don in Russia – I', *The Sunday Times*, 30 September 1956, 8.

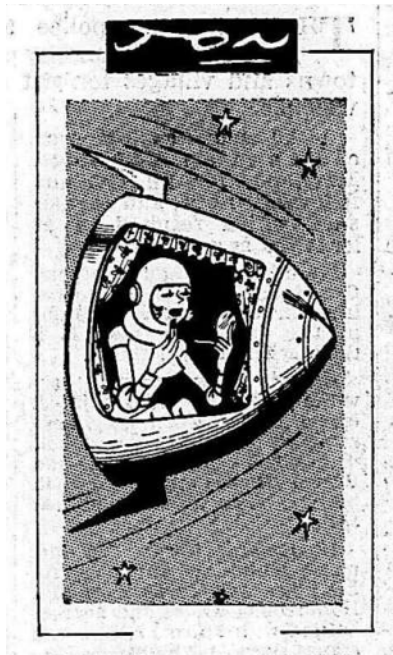


Figure 17. Keith Morfett, 'Date in Space', *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

Credit: British Newspaper Archive

on the streets of Moscow were described as having 'heavy, uncontrolled figures' who 'use no make-up, not even powder, and no aids to beauty.'⁶² The reporter then states: 'I have never, in any town I have ever visited, seen so drab a crowd.'⁶³ Although Soviet propaganda presented a modern, feminised Soviet woman during this late-1950s period, this was undermined by visiting tourists' experiences in the Soviet Union.

In the late 1950s, there was a continual stereotype of masculinised Soviet women across UK and Irish newspapers. A *Daily Telegraph* article, reporting on a Soviet fashion magazine, was astonished that the cover model had 44-inch hips and described her as 'a stout young woman with substantial... hips'.⁶⁴ Even though this woman was a fashion model, her large hips were emphasised as being unfeminine

since she did not fit into the Western conventional slim figure. However, this view slowly began to shift throughout this period, after Soviet propaganda started to present Soviet women as modern and feminine. This turn towards feminisation was presented as an important need in some articles. *The Irish Times* reported on the promotion of beauty and fashion instructions in Soviet magazines which were 'badly-needed advice and beauty hints.'⁶⁵ The feminised Soviet figure was embodied in Valentina Tereshkova and displayed to the world after her space flight.

In the UK and Irish press Tereshkova's image of traditional feminine beauty is seen in physical descriptions and particularly, in her use of beauty products. The first article on Tereshkova's space flight in the *Daily Mail* reported that she was 'probably wearing make-up in space.'⁶⁶ The article was accompanied with figure 17, a cartoon depicting Tereshkova applying lipstick in a space capsule with curtains. The cartoon shows humour in the application of make-up in such a ridiculous setting, however, it simultaneously feminises the traditionally masculine setting of space through the presence of beauty products and the curtains. Once on Earth, however, Tereshkova's response was that she 'managed without lipstick on the ground, so... did not take any into Space'.⁶⁷ Tereshkova saying that she did not need lipstick on Earth showed she was a natural beauty rather than needing make-up to improve her physical

⁶² E. Starkie, 'A Don in Russia - I', *The Sunday Times*, 30 September 1956, p. 8.

⁶³ E. Starkie, 'A Don in Russia - I', *The Sunday Times*, 30 September 1956, p. 8.

⁶⁴ A. Hope, 'The Russian Cover Girl has 44in. Hips', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 November 1955, p. 5.

⁶⁵ E. E. Sinclair, 'Lady Comrades May Now Make-Up', *The Irish Times*, 22 August 1953, p. 12.

⁶⁶ N.A., 'The Striking Face of the First Woman in Space', *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 7.

⁶⁷ N.A., 'Words of the Week about...', *The Sunday Telegraph*, 30 June 1963, p. 6.

appearance. Many articles reflected this image by describing her as ‘pretty’,⁶⁸ and having a ‘fine-structured face.’⁶⁹ She is also referred to as ‘attractive’,⁷⁰ or as having a ‘handsome, golden head’,⁷¹ in articles immediately after the space flight, on her world tours, and at her wedding. A *Daily Mirror* article describes Tereshkova as: ‘Valentina - 5ft. 6in. bubble-cut blonde, sparkling blue eyes, big wide smile, dimples – didn’t look at all a tough girl.’⁷² This undermines the traditional stereotype of masculine Soviet women, which was especially used, as seen earlier, when a woman takes up a traditionally male role. Even when Tereshkova was referred to in a masculine way, it was usually countered with femininity in the same article. A *Liverpool Echo* article repeated this interplay of masculinity and femininity by saying: ‘Valentina may be tough – but she is also very feminine’.⁷³ Although Tereshkova is presented as mentally “tough”,⁷⁴ her physical appearance, and in particular, her fashion, continuously reflected a feminine image. The feminine features that are highlighted in the UK and Irish press challenged previously held stereotypes of Soviet women.

Tereshkova was given different names and “titles” in the UK and Irish press both immediately after her flight and while on her subsequent international tour. These titles included the simple ‘Spacegirl’,⁷⁵ a feminisation of cosmonaut - ‘Cosmonette’,⁷⁶ and she was even dubbed ‘the Space Queen’.⁷⁷ “Spacegirl” was also first article on Tereshkova’s title in *Soviet Woman* magazine, which displays another connection the UK and Irish press had with the magazine.⁷⁸ As Tereshkova’s gender was the defining feature of her space flight, it is not surprising that newspapers gave her feminine nicknames. The ‘Adam-and-Eve space couple’ was an analogy used to refer to Tereshkova and Valery Bykovsky, a cosmonaut who orbited the Earth in a separate ship at the same time as Tereshkova.⁷⁹ This analogy of the two being the first man and woman placed traditional gender roles on the pair, despite the role of a

⁶⁸ N.A., ‘“Wonderful Valya” Becomes First Woman in Space’, *Irish Times*, 17 June 1963, pp. 1, 9; See also: N.A., ‘Russia Sends Woman into Space: Mr K.s “fatherly pride”’, *The Guardian*, 17 June 1963, p. 1; N.A., ‘Queen’s “Well done” for Spacewoman’, *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 17 June 1963, p. 1; N.A., ‘Russia Puts First Woman in Space: Satellite Link-up May be Tried’, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1963, p. 18.

⁶⁹ M. Frankland, ‘Valentina’s Day in Red Square’, *The Observer*, 23 June 1963, p. 2.

⁷⁰ N.A., ‘A Woman to Praise’, *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 1; See also: N.A., ‘Britain Needs More Scientists: For Executive Posts – Says Minister’, *Liverpool Echo*, 10 February 1964, p. 7.

⁷¹ N.A., ‘London Letter: From Mill and Foundry’, *The Guardian*, 5 February 1964, pp. 1, 10.

⁷² N.A., ‘Space Baby and Mother Doing Well’, *Daily Mirror*, 5 February 1964, p. 12.

⁷³ N.A., ‘Space Girl Valentina Feeling Fine After Good Night’s Sleep’, *Liverpool Echo*, 17 June 1963, p. 14.

⁷⁴ See: J. Blyth, ‘Do We Want Dolls or Astrodames?’, *Daily Mail*, 18 June 1963, p. 8; N.A., ‘The Queen Sends Congratulations’, *The Times*, 17 June 1963, p. 12; N.A., ‘A Woman to Praise’, *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 1; N.A., ‘The Queen’s “Successful Flight” Wish’, *Daily Telegraph*, 17 June 1963, p. 1; N.A., ‘Woman in Space’, *Daily Telegraph*, London, 17 June 1963, p. 12.

⁷⁵ K. Morfett, ‘Tell Mama Not to Worry’, *Daily Mail*, 18 June 1963, p. 1.

⁷⁶ N.A., ‘Gathering of the Faithful’, *Sunday Telegraph*, 23 June 1963, p. 15.

⁷⁷ N.A., ‘Fall In – and Follow Me!’, *Daily Mirror*, 6 February 1964, p. 9.

⁷⁸ See: N.A., ‘Spacegirl’, *Soviet Union*, no. 161, 1963, p. 4.

⁷⁹ R. Bedford, ‘Space Girl Lands and Hurts Nose’, *Daily Mirror*, 20 June 1963, p. 13.

cosmonaut being traditionally male. Instead, it recasts the masculine role in a feminine form by Tereshkova being compared to the biblical first woman, Eve. In the UK and Irish press, Tereshkova is frequently referred to by her nickname, 'Valya',⁸⁰ which suggests a closeness to her. This is instead of referring to Tereshkova by her last name, which the UK and Irish press traditionally used when discussing male cosmonauts. If the UK and Irish press did refer to Tereshkova by her last name it was usually preceded with 'Miss',⁸¹ rather than her formal military title, which was used to address male cosmonauts, such as 'Lieutenant-Colonel Valery Bykovsky',⁸² and 'Colonel Popovich'.⁸³ This was an intentional decision by the Politburo to address Tereshkova as "Miss Tereshkova" in foreign press briefings following her flight.⁸⁴ Articles in the UK and Irish press reflected the Soviet regime's decision to consistently refer to Tereshkova as "Miss". The UK and Irish press follow the pattern of using feminine names to refer to Tereshkova, just as her figure was highlighted.

UK and Irish newspapers began to display the new chic, feminine way that Soviet women were represented in 1960s Soviet propaganda, where Khrushchev began to insert new, feminine beauty standards. Tereshkova's image was designed under the Khrushchev regime to reflect the "new Soviet woman". *The Observer* highlighted that Tereshkova was a model of the "new Soviet woman" by stating: 'When her fine-structured face softened into a smile she looked the picture of perfect young Soviet womanhood.'⁸⁵ However, one article suggested that Tereshkova's feminine beauty should be attributed to a Western 'style', such as her 'back-combed' hair that was worn into space.⁸⁶ This "Western" hair would have been an intentional styling decision and it may have been a way to show a shift towards westernising Soviet femininity. The stylish hairstyle reflects that Soviet policies were being intentionally made to make the Soviet Union and Communism attractive by re-casting Soviet women as modern, feminine and chic figures.

Tereshkova's image can be seen successfully influencing the UK and Irish perception of Soviet women, as ordinary Soviet women were represented as more feminine figures post-1963. An article from 1967 detailed the modern, young Soviet woman rejecting 'the shapeless

⁸⁰ N.A., 'Russia Sends Woman into Space', *The Times*, 17 June 1963, p. 12; See also: K. Morfett, 'Date in Space', *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 1; N.A., 'Two Russian Spaceships Land', *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 19 June 1963, p. 33; N.A., "'Wonderful Valya" Becomes First Woman in Space', *Irish Times*, 17 June 1963, pp. 1, 9; N.A., 'Queen's "Well done" for Spacewoman', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

⁸¹ For example, see: N.A., 'A Woman's World', *Financial Times*, 18 June 1963, p. 10; N.A., 'Russia Sends Woman into Space', *The Times*, 17 June 1963, p. 12; Jeffrey Blyth, 'Do We Want Dolls or Astrodames?', *Daily Mail*, 18 June 1963, p. 8; N.A., 'A Window on the World', *Illustrated London News*, 29 June 1963, p. 12.

⁸² N.A., 'Tour Likely for Miss Tereshkova', *The Times*, 20 June 1963, p. 8.

⁸³ N.A., "'Wonderful Valya" Becomes First Woman in Space', *Irish Times*, 17 June 1963, p. 9.

⁸⁴ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, pp. 229-230.

⁸⁵ M. Frankland, 'Valentina's Day in Red Square', *The Observer*, 23 June 1963, p. 2.

⁸⁶ N.A., 'Valentina in Scotland, Yuri Stays in Plane', *Liverpool Echo*, 17 October 1963, p. 1.

dresses and men's shoes of her predecessors and the way they pulled their hair into knots at the back of their heads.'⁸⁷ This statement presents a clear break from the Soviet past and a Soviet Union being led forth by the youth, a repetitive theme seen in Khrushchev propaganda. This separation of the modern Soviet woman from a previous generation of women also shows a more feminine woman that aligned with the modern image of women. The modern, Soviet woman was described by *The Irish Times* as having 'decided' that she 'looks better in high-heeled shoes, lipstick, brightly coloured clothes and that her hair should be soft and feminine.... and she is seriously thinking of doing something about the bulky, lumpy shape for which she is famous.'⁸⁸ This article shows that there was still sometimes a satirical and derogatory tone when referring to the Soviet woman's body, although the article does acknowledge the changes in the Soviet woman's fashion choices and consumer goods. This reflected the overall UK and Irish press attitude towards Soviet women. Soviet women were not exclusively seen as petite, feminine figures as there was still an image of the hefty, androgynous figure created in the Stalin era.

Although Valentina Tereshkova was presented as a feminine woman, there is still evidence of the "hefty Soviet woman" stereotype in UK and Irish press. A link remained between the de-feminisation of the Soviet woman's body and hard, manual labour jobs. An article in *The Guardian*, published 10 days after Tereshkova's space flight, calls female workers in jobs such as building and road-mending 'hefty young women' as 'they [Soviet women in general] often come hefty in the Soviet Union.'⁸⁹ As can be expected, there was not an instant change in the perception of Soviet women; however, there was a gradual change to seeing them as more feminine figures during and after the Khrushchev era. There was a shift to showing Soviet beauty aids and trends in the UK and Irish press. This should be attributed to the Khrushchev policy of peaceful coexistence and the subsequent propaganda attempts to making the Soviet society, and subsequently socialism, appealing to the rest of the world through familiar means.

Tereshkova's femininity reflected the desired type of beauty in 1960s UK and Irish media. The word "glamour" fell out of use in the 1930s and 1940s, as it became synonymous with the word "vulgar".⁹⁰ The old glamorous, slim, heavily made-up Hollywood figure had pushed the boundaries of gender and caused a retreat to a conservative femininity.⁹¹ This was replaced with a traditional image of ladylike manners and minimal cosmetics and there was a

⁸⁷ C. Curtis, 'The Soviet Woman', *Irish Times*, 19 October 1967, p. 10.

⁸⁸ C. Curtis, 'The Soviet Woman', *Irish Times*, 19 October 1967, p. 10.

⁸⁹ A. Withers, 'The Russian Way', *The Guardian*, 26 June 1963, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Dyhouse, *Glamour*, p. 101.

⁹¹ Dyhouse, p. 83.

rise in the use of “elegance” to describe women who represented the ideal woman in Western society.⁹² This description of “elegant” came to represent a submissive woman with ‘ladylike’ qualities and it stressed traditional feminine qualities.⁹³ The *Daily Mail*, a conservative newspaper, placed this cliché of passive womanliness on Soviet women. They reported that in the home Soviet women were ‘about the meekest, mildest, most feminine things imaginable outside Islam.’⁹⁴ This comment simultaneously reinforced both the stereotypical image of an ideal Soviet woman in this period and the passive cliché of an ideal Western women. The Soviet government was encouraging Soviet women to be submissive figures in the home in propaganda.⁹⁵ Tereshkova was also described in the stereotypical image of women that the UK and Irish media were reinforcing in this era. In *The Times*, a particularly conservative, broadsheet paper, Tereshkova is described as “elegant” either in her dress or mannerisms to outweigh her masculine profession. This was seen in Tereshkova’s ‘elegant blue linen dress’ she wore on the evening of her space flight,⁹⁶ and her being described simply as ‘tall, slim and elegant.’⁹⁷ The tension in UK and Irish society as it dealt with emerging questions over women’s roles is represented in Tereshkova, as the media recast women into traditional, feminine stereotypes to counter questions over women’s roles as either paid worker, or housekeeper and mother, which had been raised in the 1950s,⁹⁸ and would continue to be raised throughout this period.

⁹² Dyhouse, *Glamour*, pp. 83-85.

⁹³ Dyhouse, p. 90-93.

⁹⁴ N.A., ‘The Striking Face of the First Woman in Space’, *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 7.

⁹⁵ Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*, p. 170.

⁹⁶ N.A., ‘Russia Sends Woman into Space’, *The Times*, 17 June 1963, p. 12.

⁹⁷ J. Owen, ‘Invisible Wives Behind the Kremlin’s Walls’, *The Times*, 27 March 1985, p. 15.

⁹⁸ Dyhouse, *Glamour*, p. 81.

Gender Equality

A key aspect of Tereshkova's propaganda image was that she embodied an ordinary Soviet woman, which was also recognised in the UK and Irish press. The satirical magazine *Punch* parodied the stereotypical image of Tereshkova when it compared a fictional English spaceman who would be described as "just an ordinary fellow," who likes his pint and his game of cricket.⁹⁹ This satirical image of the ordinary English male was constructed in *Punch* to emphasise how stereotypically Tereshkova was portrayed in Soviet propaganda. Interestingly, *Punch* did not use an image of the stereotypical English woman, despite this being a comparison to a female cosmonaut, and not the male cosmonaut, Valery Bykovsky, who carried out a spaceflight at the same time as Tereshkova. Therefore, *Punch's* comment on Tereshkova's "ordinary" propaganda image, was also an indirect comment on gender equality in the UK and Ireland, as it was not conceivable that an English woman would go to space. This idea is displayed in a comment made by a Scottish woman who would go into space if her 'husband could come too.'¹⁰⁰

Aspects of Tereshkova's life, such as her father's death in World War II, her role as a textile worker, and her hobby of parachute jumping were emphasised in Soviet propaganda.¹⁰¹ Tereshkova's portrayal as the stereotypical Soviet woman is similar to how the first man in space, Yuri Gagarin, was portrayed as the stereotypical Soviet man. One Soviet psychologist Alexei Leontyev, believed that Tereshkova was "more like an average person" than Yuri Gagarin and the rest of Russia's male cosmonauts.¹⁰² Unlike the majority of the male cosmonauts, Tereshkova was only trained as a parachutist with no prior experience as a military pilot.¹⁰³ This was a pivotal aspect of the argument that Tereshkova was underqualified as a cosmonaut.

Following Tereshkova's space flight there was a debate in the UK and Irish press on whether she was underqualified for the role, particularly in comparison to male cosmonauts. Experts from around the world were quoted criticising the Soviet Union for Tereshkova only having two years of space training. In *The Observer*, an associate director of the Manned Spacecraft Centre in Houston compared Tereshkova's flight to that of a chimpanzee who could

⁹⁹ Mr. Punch, 'Seven More Days', *Punch*, vol. 244, 26 June 1963, p. 907.

¹⁰⁰ N.A., 'Stiletto', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ For examples see: K. Morfett, 'Date in Space', *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 1; N.A., 'The Striking Face of the First Woman in Space', *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 7; N.A., 'Valentina to Marry Her Fellow Cosmonaut Tomorrow?', *Irish Times*, 1 November 1963, p. 6; N.A., 'In Future, Russian Spacemen Will Not Feel Alone. They Will Feel a Friendly Female Support', *The Sunday Times*, 29 December 1963, p. 18.

¹⁰² K. Morfett, 'Putting Miss Average in Orbit', *Daily Mail*, 18 June 1963, p. 8.

¹⁰³ N.A., 'Russia Sends Woman into Space', *The Times*, 17 June 1963, p. 12.

fly with an automatic system.¹⁰⁴ Another American, Lt.-Colonel John Powers, was quoted in a *Daily Mail* article saying that Tereshkova's 'only qualification was enthusiasm.'¹⁰⁵ However, this is spun into a positive by *Soviet Union* as Tereshkova's flight proved that 'Soviet spaceships can be operated by persons who do not have much flying experience'.¹⁰⁶ Dr. Leontyev believed that the space flight was remarkable 'not only because a woman had been put into space, she was younger than the other cosmonauts, had less experience, and lacked the training and the familiarity with danger of male cosmonauts.'¹⁰⁷ Instead of criticising Tereshkova's short training, this article spun the feat into a testament of the technological development of Soviet spaceships. *The Economist* said that Tereshkova's space flight broke the "space myth" as she was underqualified and inexperienced compared to previous male cosmonauts.¹⁰⁸ The "space myth" constructed an image that only an elite few, highly trained in engineering and mathematics, and physically and mentally tough could complete the journey into space. These 'hard-muscled, highly-qualified he-men' are juxtaposed in the article against Tereshkova, who was described delicately as one 'who sings and breaks her pencil'.¹⁰⁹ Tereshkova's femininity, and the "soft" nature of women, are presented as breaking the construction of the masculine spaceman. As is seen here, there was a tendency abroad to reduce Tereshkova's achievement by questioning Tereshkova's qualification. Similarly, the Soviet regime's motives behind sending a woman into space were questioned.

The extent to which Tereshkova's space flight was merely a propaganda stunt is explored in some UK and Irish articles. This is also an issue raised frequently in historiography on Tereshkova's image. A reporter from *The Times* expressed the view that the Soviet Union wanted to put the first woman into space to add to its list of achievements because sooner or later a female would be sent up.¹¹⁰ American responses also reflected the view that putting a woman in space was done merely to achieve another "first". A United States missile test centre commander's response to the space flight was: '[a]t risk of drawing of the ire of the feminine people, I think this is merely a publicity stunt.'¹¹¹ A reporter for the *Financial Times* described the flight as 'a shrewd public relations move' that was supposed to reinstate the 'shine' to space travel.¹¹² The *Aberdeen Press*, which is a newspaper from a slightly more liberal and labour leaning area of Scotland, commented that Tereshkova's space flight displays a form of equality

¹⁰⁴ N.A., 'Back to earth too soon?', *The Observer*, 20 June 1963, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ N.A., 'MF', *Daily Mail*, 12 July 1963, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ N.A., 'From 108 Minutes to 119 Hours', *Soviet Union*, 1963, no. 161, p. 53.

¹⁰⁷ N.A., "'Wonderful Valya' Becomes First Woman in Space', *Irish Times*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ N.A., 'What Are Little Girls Made Of?', *The Economist*, vol. 207, issue 6252, 22 June 1963, p. 1234.

¹⁰⁹ N.A., 'What Are Little Girls Made Of?', *The Economist*, vol. 207, issue 6252, 22 June 1963, p. 1234.

¹¹⁰ N.A., 'Spacewoman', *The Times*, 20 June 1963, p. 13.

¹¹¹ N.A., 'Stunt', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

¹¹² N.A., 'A Woman's World', *Financial Times*, 18 June 1963, p. 10.

that the UK and Ireland does not have as they do not recognise the intelligence of women.¹¹³ This article was published on the first day of reports on Tereshkova's spaceflight and it immediately draws a link between Soviet women's equality and compares it with UK and Irish gender equality. However, while this paper carried an article on how this spaceflight was a display of equality, the paper also reported that this was a propaganda stunt.¹¹⁴ The *Birmingham Daily Post* argues for an equality angle and against the spaceflight being a propaganda stunt. The article claimed that the only thing that appeared to be against women was 'masculine prejudice'.¹¹⁵ The article points out that across the Soviet Union women have fulfilled many different positions in society from captaining ships, driving trains, and piloting aircrafts, and therefore, why could a woman not go into space?¹¹⁶ A combination of equality and propaganda reasons created this space flight and, nevertheless, there was still widespread congratulations on the achievement.

Tereshkova's space flight generated discussions on gender roles and women's equality in the UK and Ireland. The achievement was widely reported to have unified women across all of the UK and Ireland through shared excitement.¹¹⁷ Tereshkova's achievement was a symbol of the endless possibilities that women could achieve in society on equal terms with men.¹¹⁸ A *Daily Mirror* article reported that UK and Irish women '*don't want to only bask in Valentina's glory. They want to jump on her band wagon. They see a new world open to them.*'¹¹⁹ A reporter quoting Barbara Castle, Baroness of Blackburn, M.P., saying that the achievement highlighted the Soviet's ability to acknowledge intelligence despite gender,¹²⁰ as they 'give ... women opportunities they don't get here.'¹²¹ In UK and Ireland, on the other hand, she said that it was very difficult to even have a girl accepted into a university.¹²² Castle went on to say she did not regret that the Americans did not send a woman into space first, but 'that the Russians can do it and make it seem the most ordinary thing in the world.'¹²³ This

¹¹³ N.A., 'Stiletto,' *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ N.A., 'Stunt,' *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ N.A., 'Russia Puts First Woman in Space: Women May Do Better,' *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1963, p. 18.

¹¹⁶ N.A., 'Russia Puts First Woman in Space: Women May Do Better,' *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 June 1963, p. 18.

¹¹⁷ For example, see: A. Whiting, 'A Word of Warning...', *Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963, p. 13; K. Morfett, 'Date in Space', *Daily Mail*, 17 June 1963, p. 1; K. Morfett, 'Putting Miss Average in Orbit', *Daily Mail*, 18 June 1963, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ A. Whiting, 'A Word of Warning...', *Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963, p. 13.

¹¹⁹ A. Whiting, 'A Word of Warning...', *Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963, p. 13. (original emphasis)

¹²⁰ N.A., 'Stiletto,' *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

¹²¹ R. Bedford, M. Clayton, and A. Whiting, 'The Picture that Must Make Every Woman Proud of Her Sex this Morning...', *Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963, pp. 12-13.

¹²² N.A., 'Stiletto,' *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 17 June 1963, p. 1.

¹²³ R. Bedford, M. Clayton, and A. Whiting, 'The Picture that Must Make Every Woman Proud of Her Sex this Morning...', *Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963, pp. 12-13.

article highlighted the normalcy of gender equality in the Soviet Union that was not equalled in the rest of the world. The achievement inspired and unified women in UK and Irish society, and enabled a discussion on the equality of women in UK and Irish press.

Tereshkova was recast into the role of domestic carer following her flight, despite being a symbol of women's equality in the Soviet Union. Several UK and Irish newspapers included comments by Yuri Gagarin on Tereshkova's domestic skills. He recalled how Tereshkova 'tucked up her sleeves in a housewifely way' to wash and clean her flat 'just like any housewife' after finishing space training.¹²⁴ Tereshkova was also portrayed as a maternal figure around her fellow cosmonauts during their space training. *The Daily Telegraph* reported that she would join the male cosmonauts on their fishing trips to cook them fish soup with potatoes.¹²⁵ While on her tour around the UK, after Tereshkova's marriage to fellow cosmonaut Andrian Nikolayev, the *Daily Mirror* reported that Tereshkova was a 'down-to-earth housewife'.¹²⁶ This recasting of Tereshkova from heroine to domestic carer reflects the overall trend for Soviet women and for UK and Irish women. Under both Stalin and Khrushchev, women were told to fully participate in the public sphere by working, while their role as domestic carer and homemaker was simultaneously encouraged. Similarly, UK and Irish women were stereotypically cast in advertising in the roles of the 'good wife and mother, or the pretty girl waiting to wed'.¹²⁷ Following her space flight, Tereshkova's image would fall into all three categories within the space of a year.

Within one year of her space flight Tereshkova became a mother, and this shaped the way the UK and Irish press viewed her image. The public held 'widespread popular concern' that space travel would have impacted Tereshkova's child-bearing abilities.¹²⁸ However, these apprehensions were allayed by scientists before Tereshkova's flight and eliminated with the birth of Tereshkova's first child.¹²⁹ Since Tereshkova was pregnant on her visit to the UK in 1964, the press questioned her over a woman's role as a mother and worker in the Soviet Union. Tereshkova's reassured UK and Irish reporters that she would not have to choose between being a mother and having a career saying she was 'quite prepared to continue her career in space after the birth'.¹³⁰ *The Guardian* reported Tereshkova was puzzled by the question if she

¹²⁴ N.A., "'Wonderful Valya' Becomes First Woman in Space', *Irish Times*, 17 June 1963, pp. 1, 9; N.A., 'Down – To Cheers and Chores', *Daily Telegraph*, London, 20 June 1963, p. 13; N.A., 'Down – To Cheers and Chores', *Daily Telegraph*, London, 20 June 1963, p. 13.

¹²⁵ N.A., 'Down – To Cheers and Chores', *Daily Telegraph*, London, 20 June 1963, p. 13.

¹²⁶ N.A., 'Space Baby and Mother Doing Well', *Daily Mirror*, 5 February 1964, p. 12.

¹²⁷ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 8.

¹²⁸ N.A., 'Baby Girl for Soviet Woman Cosmonaut', *Irish Times*, 11 June 1964, p. 8.

¹²⁹ N.A., 'Another Cosmonaut to Join Orbiting Russian Couple', *Irish Times*, 18 June 1963, p. 1.

¹³⁰ N.A., 'Valentina – First "Space Mother" – Takes it Calmly', *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 23 April 1964, p. 28.

would return to work after the birth as though she was thinking '[w]hat else does a woman do?'¹³¹ *The Irish Times* reported that motherhood was an important aspiration for Tereshkova as the birth of her child was a 'fulfilment of her fondest hopes and dreams.'¹³² Similarly, *The Times* recounted in 1964 that 'looking after her little girl' is what Tereshkova 'likes best of all.'¹³³ Here, a traditional attitude of women as mothers first and foremost was emphasised. Motherhood was always an important element of Soviet propaganda in this period, and Tereshkova's role as a mother reflected a significant way that women were represented in the UK and Irish media.

Tereshkova's role as a politician led to criticism over her token representation of women for the Soviet Union. As second wave feminism rose in the 1960s, there was frustration and criticism over Tereshkova's repetition of Party propaganda in interviews.¹³⁴ An article in *The Irish Times* from the mid-1970s showed disdain towards Tereshkova's well-rehearsed speech on the Soviet Union's disarmament and foreign policy at an international women's conference. The reporter expressed regret that Tereshkova did not share something personally relevant on the topic of women's equality.¹³⁵ Criticism of Tereshkova spouting party lines is also clearly seen in an interview in *The Guardian* from 1984 where the reporter criticised Tereshkova for being 'technologically honed to give official responses to any questions'¹³⁶ and called her a 'computer program' with automatic, pre-prepared Party propaganda responses. The image of Tereshkova consistently repeating official Party propaganda and not engaging in conversations on topics created frustration in the press and among 1980s feminists.

After Tereshkova, there was still tension over a Soviet woman's role as both worker and mother in UK and Irish newspapers. In Soviet propaganda, there was a strong promotion of motherhood alongside encouragement for women to be involved in the workforce. Articles on Soviet women in the UK and Irish press presented women fulfilling both roles as worker and mother, similar to Tereshkova. In 1969, the *Daily Mail* reported that the UK and Ireland had much to learn from how the Soviet Union provided for its working mothers and their children.¹³⁷ This article reported that the state required large employers to provide day-care facilities for the children of workers and that a mother could leave her baby at the facility from

¹³¹ N.A., 'Valentina Arrives in Sunshine', *The Guardian*, 5 February 1964, pp. 1, 18.

¹³² N.A., 'Baby Girl for Soviet Woman Cosmonaut', *Irish Times*, 11 June 1964, p. 8.

¹³³ N.A., 'A Hot Meal, A Magazine or a Mother in Space: Cosmonaut Heroine', *The Times*, 28 March 1966, p. 11.

¹³⁴ Bridger, *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, p. 235.

¹³⁵ C. Murphy, 'Women of the World', *Irish Times*, 11 July 1975, p. 12.

¹³⁶ P. Toynbee, 'I Could Claim That This is an Exclusive Interview. But I Am Not Sure if You Can Have an Exclusive Interview with a Computer Program', *The Guardian*, 22 October 1984, p. 14.

¹³⁷ Mrs. J. P. Hewitt, 'We're all Being Brainwashed', *Daily Mail*, 5 August 1969, p. 12.

three months old.¹³⁸ Instead of young Soviet women wanting to be glamorous and winning beauty competitions, their attention was directed towards the title of Mother Heroine, earned by bearing ten or more children.¹³⁹ Although this was probably an exaggeration, as not all Soviet women would have wanted to have 10 children, it does show that motherhood was an important aspect of the Soviet woman's propaganda image. An article from the late 1970s, reported that Tereshkova's two back-up pilots had remained in the Soviet space program as 'very good engineers – and very good mothers.'¹⁴⁰ The propaganda message displayed how these Soviet women's involvement in their chosen industry did not affect their roles as mothers.

In the period following Tereshkova's space flight, the extent to which gender equality had been achieved in the Soviet Union was questioned. Despite propaganda that gender equality had been reached in all aspect of Soviet women's lives, UK and Irish newspaper articles still explored the double burden in the Soviet home. The *Coventry Evening Telegraph* covered a Soviet appeal for men to assist women with housework in 1968.¹⁴¹ The article recounted that women from a Leningrad factory said that they felt weary '70 per cent' of the time.¹⁴² Despite this evidence of the double burden, Soviet propaganda still presented the Soviet women as having achieved greater equality than their UK and Irish counterparts. Clichéd images of UK and Irish women in advertising consistently restricted them to the home, or more specifically the kitchen or the laundry room.¹⁴³ One reporter visiting the Soviet Union in 1969 wrote that 'Soviet women take us for a very backward country, where women are kept in subjection.'¹⁴⁴ UK and Irish women's equality was reconsidered in articles on Soviet women's equality and Tereshkova's achievement.

For a woman who became famous for breaking gender stereotypes, Tereshkova actually reinforced a traditional concept of femininity to both domestic and international audiences. Lucy Komisar explored the main stereotypes that women were reduced to in Western advertising throughout the 1960s, which were: sex object, mother, and a wife who 'achieves fulfilment by looking beautiful for men.'¹⁴⁵ These stereotypes were projected onto Tereshkova by Soviet propaganda and not just the UK and Irish media. Tereshkova's feminine image, her "domestic image", wedding, and motherhood all occurred and displayed traditional, feminine

¹³⁸ Mrs. J. P. Hewitt, 'We're all Being Brainwashed', *Daily Mail*, 5 August 1969, p. 12.

¹³⁹ K. Gray, 'Mother Russia', *Irish Times*, 21 May 1964, p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ G. Linscott, 'Space Woman of Many Talents', *The Guardian*, 1 November 1977, p. 4.

¹⁴¹ N.A., 'Ivan Asked to Put on an Apron', *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 4 October 1968, p. 25.

¹⁴² N.A., 'Ivan Asked to Put on an Apron', *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 4 October 1968, p. 25.

¹⁴³ M. Kang, 'The Portrayal of Women's Images in Magazine Advertisements: Goffman's Gender Analysis Revisited', *Sex Roles*, vol. 37, nos. 11/12, 1997, pp. 981-982.

¹⁴⁴ Mrs. J. P. Hewitt, 'We're all being brainwashed', *Daily Mail*, 5 August 1969, p. 12.

¹⁴⁵ L. Komisar, *Woman in Sexist Society*, New York, Basic, 1971, cited in M. Kang, 'The Portrayal of Women's Images in Magazine Advertisements: Goffman's Gender Analysis Revisited', *Sex Roles*, vol. 37, nos. 11/12, 1997, pp. 981-982.

roles within a year of her space flight. The dominant narratives in Western magazines, ‘getting and keeping your man’ and ‘The Happy Family’,¹⁴⁶ are also seen in Tereshkova’s constructed image. These were two themes, consistently present in magazines that told women how to behave and shaped a women’s opinion of herself.¹⁴⁷ Although there were discussions generated about a woman’s role and place in UK and Irish society, Tereshkova’s image following her space flight actually emphasised traditional stereotypes and themes present in the UK and Irish press.

Overall, it is important to consider how Soviet displays of gender equality were discussed and how they influenced UK and Irish newspapers’ perceptions of their own societies’ gender equality. Some papers commented on how Soviet gender equality was hypocritical as there was a discrepancy between official discourse on the subject and everyday realities for Soviet women. Therefore, they considered UK and Irish gender equality to be indicative of how women should be treated as they were not subjugated to a double burdened life. More liberal papers used the displays of Soviet equality as a way to engage in the gender equality experience of UK and Irish women. Generally, the national papers tended to address UK and Irish gender equality in articles, whereas provincial papers focused solely on Soviet women’s experiences.

The topic of gender equality in the home received attention in the UK and Irish press. Gradually, admiration was shown towards a Soviet woman’s ability to join men in any career, but there was still distain towards Soviet women’s double burden. This double burden was still an issue in the 1960s, as Soviet women were reported to be performing household chores, alongside being the primary caregiver, and working full time. A *Daily Mail* reporter had an ironic encounter with a Soviet journalist who was explaining gender equality in the Soviet Union as the journalist’s wife was busy working in their kitchen.¹⁴⁸ Once the journalist’s baby, two feet away from him, began crying he called out for his wife to come into the room to soothe the baby, rather than picking him up himself.¹⁴⁹ This encounter was used as an example of how Soviet households struggled, similarly to their UK and Irish counterparts, in bringing equality into the home. The encounter revealed that Soviet women struggled to manage homes whilst working as ‘in too many cases equality applies everywhere except at home’.¹⁵⁰ It is also compared to the experiences and complaints of the Soviet woman’s ‘Western counterpart’.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, pp. 47-49.

¹⁴⁷ Ferguson, p. 1.

¹⁴⁸ J. Mossman, ‘Yes, We’ve Got the Old Sex War in Russia Too’, *Daily Mail*, 10 October 1960, p. 8.

¹⁴⁹ J. Mossman, ‘Yes, We’ve Got the Old Sex War in Russia Too’, *Daily Mail*, 10 October 1960, p. 8.

¹⁵⁰ J. Mossman, ‘Yes, We’ve Got the Old Sex War in Russia Too’, *Daily Mail*, 10 October 1960, p. 8.

¹⁵¹ J. Mossman, ‘Yes, We’ve Got the Old Sex War in Russia Too’, *Daily Mail*, 10 October 1960, p. 8.

This article aligns the struggles of Soviet women with Western women in experiencing double burdens and housework.

The *Coventry Evening Telegraph* is an interesting provincial newspaper case study as the voting demographic of Coventry did not necessarily reflect the content of the paper. Coventry was a politically quite neutral area with a slight slant towards Labour. However, *Coventry Evening Telegraph* articles contained conservative values when discussing women's equality and in the way it portrayed Soviet women. In the late 1960s, Soviet women were described using masculinised imagery; a stark example of this being 'only one thing is stronger than Russian vodka – Russian women.'¹⁵² The *Coventry*'s image of Soviet equality was of women who performed hard labour, pointing out the 'age-old duties' of the home created a double burden for Soviet women.¹⁵³ There was even a report of an appeal for men to assist Soviet women in housework.¹⁵⁴ Articles in *Coventry* did not hesitate to point out the discrepancy between what Soviet 'law' promised women and their reality.¹⁵⁵ There is reported to be an air of '(the male) feeling of superiority' in the Soviet Union.¹⁵⁶ Motherhood is also promoted as still being a cherished value held by Soviet women. A *Coventry* article emphasised that the 'ancient "wonderful mission"' for a woman's 'craving for motherhood' cannot be interrupted by work.¹⁵⁷ The *Coventry Evening Telegraph* continued to press traditional values in articles by underlining that Soviet women still wanted to be mothers and that working created tiresome, over-worked women. Although the *Coventry* newspaper did discuss Soviet women's equality it did not use the opportunity to make a commentary on UK and Irish women's equality like national newspapers.

Other provincial newspapers similarly have a balanced approach to gender equality despite their regional political alignments. The *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, for instance, is considered a liberal paper, in a liberal area of Scotland, but articles on UK and Irish gender equality display Soviet gender equality in both conservative and liberal perspectives.

National conservative newspapers emphasised the masculinisation of women in their equal place in the workforce whereas national liberal papers used examples of Soviet equality to criticise UK and Irish society. The *Daily Mail* is quick to point out the hypocrisy in areas of equality that the Soviet Union promoted. For instance, an article reported that Soviet women earned an equal wage to men but despite this all of a woman's property still belonged to her

¹⁵² N.A., 'In Russia "Women are Stronger than Vodka",' *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 6 August 1969, p. 12.

¹⁵³ N.A., 'In Russia "Women are Stronger than Vodka",' *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 6 August 1969, p. 12.

¹⁵⁴ N.A., 'Ivan Asked to Put on an Apron,' *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 4 October 1968, p. 25.

¹⁵⁵ N.A., 'Males still superior,' *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 4 November 1968, p. 13.

¹⁵⁶ N.A., 'Males still superior,' *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 4 November 1968, p. 13.

¹⁵⁷ N.A., 'Women Adapt Faster than Men,' *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 18 April 1970, p. 10.

husband.¹⁵⁸ Therefore if he left her, she ‘could be left without a penny’.¹⁵⁹ A visitor to the Soviet Union, reporting in the *Daily Telegraph*, said that the tourist guides were ‘often embarrassed when their attention is drawn to what Westerners consider is taking equality for women too far.’¹⁶⁰ This conservative paper was emphasising that hard, manual labour, that Soviet women were seen performing in the mid-1960s, ‘spoiled’ gender equality.¹⁶¹ The *Daily Mirror*, a liberal paper, highlighted the unity that Tereshkova’s display of equality brought to women all over the world. One reporter, Audrey Whiting, said that Tereshkova changed her ‘outlook on life’ and that it will help shift ‘the outlook of other imaginative women.’¹⁶² Whiting saw this display of equality as opening up opportunities for women across the world and uniting women under her achievement.¹⁶³ The *Guardian* and the *Observer* are two liberal papers that engaged thoroughly with Soviet gender equality and frequently used the opportunity to discuss UK and Irish women’s equality. One article in the *Guardian* does say that Soviet men can learn from the ‘Englishman’s handiness in the home’, as articles often said that Soviet women were burdened solely with housework.¹⁶⁴ However, this article also highlights frustration with UK and Irish societies’ ‘reluctance to concede ordinary human rights’ to women, which ‘can generate deep frustration.’¹⁶⁵ Another article argued that the UK and Ireland waste the ‘talent and brainpower’ of women, whereas in the Soviet Union half of university graduates are women.¹⁶⁶ These liberal national papers used the discussion of Soviet gender equality to criticise women’s position in UK and Irish society.

National papers engaged in the debate of UK and Irish gender equality more frequently than provincial papers. Perhaps stronger political alliances caused this, as many tended to swing towards liberal or conservative, whereas provincial papers were usually more politically neutral. Even provincial papers from counties that were either more conservative or labour leaning did not use displays of Soviet gender equality to comment on women’s equality in the UK and Ireland, as was seen in *Derby Daily Telegraph*, *Lancashire Evening Post*, and *Liverpool Echo*. Rather, these provincial papers focused on and criticised Soviet women’s equality. This criticism was a conservative trend emerging in the press in this era, as women were encouraged towards traditional femininity by the UK and Irish press.

¹⁵⁸ N.A., ‘Give her the lot,’ *Daily Mail*, 21 June 1963, Issue 20886, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ N.A., ‘Give her the lot,’ *Daily Mail*, 21 June 1963, Issue 20886, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ N.A., ‘Letter from Moscow,’ *Daily Telegraph*, 13 October 1965, Issue 34361, p. 14.

¹⁶¹ N.A., ‘Letter from Moscow,’ *Daily Telegraph*, 13 October 1965, Issue 34361, p. 14.

¹⁶² A. Whiting, ‘A Word of Warning...,’ *Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963, p. 13.

¹⁶³ A. Whiting, ‘A Word of Warning...,’ *Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963, p. 13.

¹⁶⁴ A. Withers, ‘The Russian Way’ *The Guardian*, 26 June 1963, p. 8.

¹⁶⁵ A. Withers, ‘The Russian Way’ *The Guardian*, 26 June 1963, p. 8.

¹⁶⁶ W. Davis, ‘If BEA Can Do It, Why Not Bankers Too?’ *The Guardian*, 3 December 1965, p. 10.

In this chapter I explored the appearance of Soviet women and the discussion around women's equality in UK and Irish newspapers. Tereshkova's "chic and feminine" fashion created a new image for the Soviet woman, as fashion had been a focal point of UK and Irish criticism of the Soviet Union in the Stalin era. However, issues of prices of goods were still highlighted in the press. Images of androgynous women performing heavy, manual labour in the Stalin era concerned the UK and Irish press. The absence of beauty products and luxury goods were reported on by visitors to the Soviet Union. Tereshkova's appearance accelerated the shift towards viewing Soviet women as feminine figures. Her use of make-up and accentuated feminine form was emphasised in the press. Although there were still reports of masculine Soviet women, this image was slowly shifting in favour of seeing Soviet women as chic. Lastly, gender equality was questioned throughout the UK and Irish press as Tereshkova highlighted the limitations of UK and Irish women's ability to participate freely in any workplace or university system. There were many newspaper articles both for and against gender equality in the UK and Ireland. However, the development of second-wave feminism appears to have left Soviet gender equality behind, as these women became increasingly frustrated with Tereshkova.

Conclusion

In the Soviet era, Stalin's and Khrushchev's regimes constructed images of the Soviet woman in international propaganda magazines aiming to influence the way that Soviet women were perceived by other nations. Overall, in alignment with Ellul's argument on propaganda, this imaging was successful as it was propaganda based in truth. Propaganda presented women as equal participants of the workforce in the Stalin era and was effective as images and accounts by reporters and foreign visitors to the Soviet Union in the UK and Irish press also displayed Soviet women performing manual labour. However, these images constructed what would become a stereotypical image of an androgynous Soviet woman, whose body had been masculinised by heavy labour. This was not an appealing figure to the UK and Ireland, as seen by the disdain shown in many UK and Irish articles, although the image still aligned with the Soviets' intended propaganda message: equality. Women continued to be shown in work clothing, without make-up and often performing heavy labour in propaganda until the late Stalin era. Then, the UK and Irish perception of androgynous Soviet women began to change as Soviet women were presented as having access to fashionable, feminine clothing and beauty products. In the later Stalin era, there was concern over this image of androgynous Soviet women and so women were encouraged to retain their femininity. However, the double burdened workload did not allow women the time to be concerned about their femininity as they performed double shifts, first at work, and then in the home. Also, the tight censorship constraints that continually escalated during the Stalin era limited the amount of information being released to the outside world. This probably prevented the feminisation of Soviet women, that started in this era, from receiving the extensive attention it had in the early Khrushchev era.

As Khrushchev opened the Soviet Union to rest of the world, international competition began as the Soviet Union sought to prove that its societal structure was better than capitalism. Everyday areas of life became ways of proving this superiority, including living standards and availability of luxury goods. These areas displayed the superiority of the Soviet socialist system as Soviet women were displayed as having equal or greater access to fashion, beauty products, and household goods as Western women. A traditional concept of femininity was encouraged and presented in the constructed image of Soviet women in propaganda under the Khrushchev regime. Women were shown as equal members of society who retained their femininity by using luxury goods in their houses. Valentina Tereshkova is a key example of this resurgence of traditional femininity in this era. Despite the display of gender equality shown through Tereshkova's role as the first woman in space, Tereshkova was quickly re-cast into traditionally

feminine roles. In propaganda, traditionally feminine gender clichés were emphasised in her image. These clichés were centred around femininity, fashion, and eventually Tereshkova's role as a wife and mother. Recasting women into traditionally feminine roles was also a Western media trend that occurred in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁶⁷

UK and Irish newspapers reflected back the changes in the construction of the Soviet woman's image between the Stalin and Khrushchev eras, although it was still tested by UK and Irish journalists and visitors and was not blindly accepted. During the Stalin era, in the UK and Irish press Soviet women were presented as masculinised figures whose bodies were defeminised by hard, manual labour. This masculinised image originated in propaganda images and foreign visitors' accounts, which showed women performing such labour. Under Khrushchev, there was a shift towards presenting Soviet women as feminised figures who could retain their femininity through access to consumer goods, while still participating equally in the public sphere. The image of Soviet women in the UK and Irish media also reflected this change; however, it was a slow shift and there was still a lingering image of the androgynous Soviet woman. Valentina Tereshkova did further the image of the feminine Soviet woman because of her petite figure and fashionable clothes. However, she merely accelerated the degree to which this feminine image was accepted in the press, rather than replacing the image of the androgynous Soviet woman completely.

The launching of Tereshkova into space raised a number of views within the UK and Irish press. First, it challenged the unfashionable and masculine Soviet woman stereotype through Tereshkova's physique and clothing. Second, it generated a discussion about the level of equality experienced by UK and Irish women in society across many newspapers of different political opinions. And third, following Tereshkova's space flight, traditional femininity was emphasised by immediately casting Tereshkova into the home as a domestic carer for her fellow cosmonauts and then, subsequently, her own family. Tereshkova's image, while influencing the UK and Irish perception of Soviet women, did not clearly create massive change in UK and Irish women's gender equality. Some reporters used the event to strengthen traditional ideas on gender roles in their articles, while others openly discussed and questioned UK and Irish women's equality. This research shows that overall subliminal and direct messages were sent to women through different magazines and newspapers that simultaneously promoted and rejected women's equality with men.

In this thesis I have explored the ways that the ideal Soviet woman was constructed and presented to an international audience and the extent to which this image was reflected back in

¹⁶⁷ Dyhouse, *Glamour*, pp. 83-85.

UK and Irish newspapers. This thesis contributes to the neglected field of international Soviet magazine propaganda, as traditionally domestic magazines have been the focus of English-based Soviet historians.¹⁶⁸ This thesis also proves that to a degree the Soviet Union did influence the images and constructs of Soviet women in UK and Irish newspapers. It also offers an insight into the 1960s debate in UK and Irish newspapers around their societies' gender equality that emerged due to Tereshkova's spaceflight. The two parts of this thesis' structure have enabled a detailed examination into how projected Soviet propaganda influenced UK and Irish newspapers' perceptions of Soviet women, as there is clearly a shift in both sources, between the Stalin and Khrushchev eras, as Soviet women were intentionally feminised.

While it is virtually impossible to account for a distinct measurement of the influence the Soviet propaganda had on the UK and Irish press, there is a definite shift in the way that Soviet women are viewed in the Stalin and Khrushchev eras. The magazines *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* are excellent examples of the information provided to the rest of the world, which were used by the UK and Irish press despite awareness that they were propaganda constructs, as other information was limited. The heavy censorship on the foreign press in the Soviet Union under Stalin, and lighter, but still censored, press in the Khrushchev era controlled how information was influenced and shaped by each regime. My thesis displays a shift in the UK and Irish press' perception of Soviet women between the Stalin and Khrushchev eras. The image of Soviet women changed from working figures whose bodies were made androgynous by heavy labour, to feminine women who were interested in fashion and beauty. This image was certainly accelerated by Valentina Tereshkova's image as there was a decrease in articles that emphasised Soviet women's masculine physics following her publicity. This shift in the overall image of Soviet women aligns with the trends in Soviet propaganda, as displayed in *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Woman* magazines. The Stalin construct was criticised for being too masculinised. The Khrushchev construct generated a gender debate over women's equality as Soviet women began to resemble UK and Irish women, which created questions over a woman's place in UK and Irish society.

¹⁶⁸ English based Soviet sources focused on domestic magazine include: Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman*; Tolstikova, *Journalism History*, pp. 131-140; Levinson, *New York Law School Journal of International and Comparative Law*, pp. 151-182; Utiuzh, 'The Portrayal of Women in the Oldest Russian Women's Magazine "Rabotnitsa" From 1970-2017', n.p.; Buckley, *Women and Ideology*, 1989; Kozlova, *Women's History in Russia*, pp.137-155; McAndrew, *Soviet Sisterhood*, pp. 78-115.

Appendix

Table 1:

Newspaper ¹⁶⁹	Political Association	Frequency	Price	Broadsheet or Tabloid	Provincial or National	Circulation area	ABC Circulation
<i>Aberdeen Evening Express</i>	Independent	Daily, evening	3d.	-	Provincial	Aberdeen and adjacent areas	81,285
<i>Press and Journal (Aberdeen)</i>	Independent	Daily, morning	3d.	-	Provincial	Aberdeen, Angus, Kincardine, Banff, Moray, Nairn, Inverness, Perth, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland Islands	99,061
<i>Belfast Telegraph</i>	Unionist	Daily, evening	3d.	-	Provincial	Belfast and Northern Ireland	211,236
<i>Birmingham Daily Post (Birmingham Daily Gazette absorbed in 1956)</i>	Independent	Daily, morning	3d.	-	Provincial	Birmingham, in the Industrial and Agricultural Midlands	75,567
<i>Coventry Evening Telegraph</i>	Independent	Daily, evening	2 1/2d.	-	Provincial	Coventry	109,213
<i>Daily Herald (Became The Sun in 1964)</i>	Liberal	Daily, morning	3d.	Tabloid	National	-	1,348,686
<i>Daily Mail</i>	Conservative	Daily, morning	3d.	Tabloid	National	-	2,525,244
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	Liberal	Daily, morning	3d.	Tabloid	National	-	4,660,445
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Conservative	Daily, morning	3d.	Broadsheet	National	-	1,268,729

¹⁶⁹ Statistics for table were gathered from: *Newspaper Press Directory: Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World*, 1963, 115th Issue, London, Benn Brothers Limited, 1966; Seymour-Ure, *The Press, Politics and the Public*, 1966. The table gives information on the newspapers used, sourced from information in the *Newspaper Press Directory* from 1963, as this was the period which Tereshkova's space flight occurred and is when many of the articles used in this chapter were published.

<i>Derby Evening Telegraph and Derby Daily Express</i>	Independent	Daily, evening	3d.	-	Provincial	Derbyshire and neighbouring counties	In excess of 93,000
<i>Evening Telegraph and Post (Dundee)</i>		Daily, evening	3d.	-	Provincial	Central Scotland	Circulates Central Scotland with its 3/4 million population
<i>The Economist</i>	Independent	Weekly, Sat.	1s. 6d.	Broadsheet	National	-	69,825
<i>Financial Times</i>	Conservative	Daily, morning	5d.	Broadsheet	National	-	135,084
<i>The Guardian</i> ¹⁷⁰	Liberal	Daily, evening	4d.	Broadsheet	National	-	261,660
<i>Illustrated London News</i>	Independent	Weekly, Thurs.	2s. 6d.	-	National	-	73,104 ¹⁷¹
<i>Irish Times</i>	Liberal	Daily, morning	5d.	-	National	Dublin and all of Ireland	33,897
<i>Lancashire Evening Post</i>	Independent	Daily, evening	3d.	-	Provincial	East and West between Burnley and Blackpool, and north and south between Carlisle and Warrington	122,134
<i>Lincolnshire Echo</i>	Independent	Daily, evening	3d.	-	Provincial	Lincolnshire	In excess of 36,000
<i>Liverpool Echo</i> (<i>Liverpool Evening Express</i> absorbed in 1958)	Independent	Daily, evening	3d.	-	Provincial	Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales	415,429

¹⁷⁰ The *Manchester Guardian* became *The Guardian* in 1959 so anything after this period will be referred to as *The Guardian* and anything prior will be referred to as the *Manchester Guardian*.

¹⁷¹ Circulation figure for *Illustrated London News* obtained from the *Newspaper Press Directory: Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World, 1966*. 115th Issue, London, Benn Brothers Limited, 1966. version as there was no figure included in the 1963 version.

<i>Marylebone Mercury</i>	Independent	Weekly, Thurs.	4d.	-	Provincial	Marylebone, St. Pancras, Camden Town, Kilburn, Westminster, St. John's Wood	76,562 ¹⁷²
<i>Manchester Guardian</i> ¹⁷³	Liberal	Weekly, Thurs.	4d.	-	National	-	46,487
<i>Newcastle Evening Chronicle</i>	Independent	Daily, evening	3d.	-	Provincial	Newcastle, Northumberland, and Durham	255,559
<i>Newcastle Journal</i>	Independent	Monthly, morning	3d.	-	Provincial	From the Scottish border to Tees-side and across to Carlisle	125,318
<i>Norwood News</i> (Closes in 1965)	Independent	Weekly, Fri.	4d.	-	Provincial	Norwood and North Croydon	59,945
<i>The Observer</i>	Liberal	Weekly, Sun.	6d.	Broadsheet	National	-	715,934
<i>Punch</i>	-	Weekly, Wed.	1s..	Tabloid	National	-	129,301
<i>The Sphere</i> (Closes in 1964)	-	Weekly, Sat.	2s. 6d.	-	National	-	-
<i>Sunday Mirror</i>	Liberal	Weekly, Sun.	6d.	Tabloid	National	-	5,022,214 ¹⁷⁴
<i>The Sunday Times</i>	Conservative	Weekly, Sun.	6d.	Broadsheet	National	-	1,124,020
<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>	Conservative	Weekly, Sun.	5d.	Broadsheet	National	-	666,374
<i>The Times</i>	Conservative	Daily, morning	5d.	Broadsheet	National	-	252,314
<i>Western Mail</i>	Independent	Daily, morning	3d.	-	Provincial	Wales and Monmouthshire	104,041

¹⁷² *Marylebone Mercury* - *Newspaper Press Directory: Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World*, 1966 115th version.

¹⁷³ The *Manchester Guardian* became, in 1959, a weekly summary of 'what is best and most interesting in the daily *Guardian*, what is most distinctive and most independent of time, in a compact weekly form'. It is circulated internationally. Source - *Newspaper Press Directory: Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World*, 1966.

¹⁷⁴ *Sunday Mirror* statistics sourced from - *Newspaper Press Directory: Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World*, 1966.

<i>Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer</i>	Conservative	Daily, morning	3d	-	Provincial	Large postal circulation, circulates in every county between Trent and the Tweed	119,269
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Table 2:

Area ¹⁷⁵	Conservative	Labour	Liberal	National	Associated Regional Newspaper	Newspaper Political Affiliation ¹⁷⁶
Aberdeen-						
East:	48%	22.4%	23.3%	6.3%	Aberdeen Press and Journal	Independent
West:	46.4%	20.4%	33.2%	-		
North:	31.1%	68.9%	-	-		
South:	51.7%	43.9%	4.4%	-		
Derby-						
Belper:	37.5%	47.3%	15.2%	-	Derby Daily Telegraph	Independent
Bolsover:	20.7%	79.3%	-	-		
High Peak:	38.1%	34.9%	27%	-		
Ilkeston:	24%	60.2%	15.8%	-		
North-east:	35.8%	64.2%	-	-		
South-east:	49.2%	50.8%	-	-		
West:	44.2%	25.4%	30.4%	-		
Lancashire	42%	49%	16.5%	-	Lancashire Evening Post	Independent
Liverpool	43.6%	51.3%	17.5%	-	Liverpool Echo	Independent
Newcastle	44.7%	55%	-	-	Newcastle Evening Chronicle	Independent
Norwood	45.5%	44.4%	10.1%	-	Norwood News	Independent

¹⁷⁵ Statistical data from 1964 election results obtained in D.E. Butler and A. King, *The British General Election of 1964*, London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

¹⁷⁶ Political affiliation of newspapers taken from *Newspaper Press Directory: Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World*, 1963, 115th Issue, London, Benn Brothers Limited, 1966.

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Birmingham Daily Post

Coventry Evening Telegraph

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Liverpool Echo

Newcastle Evening Chronicle

Sunday Mirror

Sunday Telegraph

Western Mail

Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896-2004

Daily Mail

The Economist Historical Archive, 1843-2012

The Economist

Financial Times Historical Archive, 1888-2010

Financial Times

Illustrated London News 1842-2003

Illustrated London News

Irish Times (1859-2015)

Irish Times

Punch Historical Archive 1841-1992

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The Sunday Times

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